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Official Comments on Chemical Plant Inspection
LD2802182589 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Geneva February 28 TASS—Speaking at a plenary session of the conference on disarmament on Tuesday, Yuriy Nazarkin, head of the Soviet delegation, informed those present about a trial inspection at a chemical plant in the Gorkiy region. A detailed inspection of various sections of the checked facility, including production floor, places where initial materials and finished output are stored, control desk, office buildings and laboratories was practiced during this experiment.

Test measuring equipment installed in keypoints to monitor the technological process was sealed up, the selection of samples was automatic. Apart from analysing these samples and collating them with the plant's registration documents, inspectors checked the safety of seals and the readings of instruments which registered technological process.

Simultaneously, inspectors studied questions of confidential information protection: Which data should be handed to the monitoring body during such inspections and which should be kept in the facility.

The national experiment conducted in the USSR has on the whole confirmed the practical applicability of the verification procedures which were agreed upon during the talks, the head of the Soviet delegation said.

He expressed satisfaction with the fact that 16 states have already conducted or are going to conduct national experimental inspections, and Hungary, Sweden and Italy have already presented to the conference the reports on their trial inspections. This shows that the talks on banning chemical weapons are entering a decisive stage when practical preparations for putting a convention into effect have started concurrently with harmonising the wordings of the future convention.

Yazov Cited on Structural Changes to Armed Forces
LD2802135489 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] A Radio Moscow reporter, Mikhail Kommissar, has interviewed the Soviet defense minister, Army General Dmitriy Yazov. [passage omitted] Here's what General Yazov said about the coming structural changes in the Armed Forces of the country:

[Begin Yazov recording in Russian, fading into English translation] The Soviet troops located in the European part of the Soviet Union and on the territory of its allies in Europe will be reduced by 240,000 men in the course of 2 years. Besides, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 military planes will be removed from the arsenals there. There will also be a substantial cut in the numerical strength of the Armed Forces in the eastern and southern parts of the Soviet Union. This will be done, first of all, by transforming some of the motorized units into machinegun and artillery ones, and they, as is known, are meant for defense only. As for military units still remaining on the territory of our allies in Eastern Europe, we shall be withdrawing the assault landing force and assault troop crossing units. This will give the troops a clearly expressed defense structure. In this way, we shall be removing the surprise attack potential, which has long been used to intimidate the West European public. [end recording]

[Announcer] The press abroad expresses apprehension that the units which are being withdrawn from the territory of our allies will be dispatched to other regions.

[Begin Yazov recording in Russian, fading into English translation] The six tank divisions being withdrawn from the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary are being disbanded, and not deployed in another place, and this goes not only for the troops in Europe. As announced earlier, with the agreement of the Mongolian Government, three-quarters of Soviet troops stationed in that country will return home. Infantry divisions being called off from there are to be either disbanded or cut. On the whole the restructuring of Soviet Armed Forces will nearly halve the number of infantry divisions. [end recording]

[Announcer] The Soviet defense minister was asked: Do you expect a reciprocal measure on the part of the United States or the NATO bloc as a whole?

[Begin Yazov recording in Russian, fading into English translation] Let's put it this way—a good will is welcomed from all quarters. Taking a decision to reduce our Armed Forces unilaterally, we made no conditions, but we would naturally be glad to see that measure reciprocated. I hope the NATO members will demonstrate their readiness to move toward stability and security in Europe, including unilateral cuts of their armed forces and armaments. So far, unfortunately, NATO has confined itself to verbal assurances of peaceful intentions. [end recording]

Karpov Discusses Disarmament With FRG Officials
LD2802194289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1828 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn, 28 Feb (TASS)—USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov has been here on a 2-day visit. He met Juergen Sudhoff, state secretary of the FRG Foreign Ministry; Horst Teltschik, adviser to the chancellor on foreign policy questions; Josef Holik, federal government spokesman on questions of disarmament and arms control; and other officials of the Foreign Ministry and Federal Chancellor's Office.

During the conversations there was discussion of prospects for the process of disarmament in light of the talks to start at the beginning of March on reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, and also

in light of the talks currently being held in Geneva on universal and total banning of chemical weapons and destruction of their reserves.

A press conference was held at the USSR Embassy at which V. Karpov set out the Soviet Union's new approach to solving the problems of international security, disarmament, and strengthening of confidence-building measures, and replied to questions from journalists.

Impact of Bloc Disarmament Initiatives Viewed

PM2802151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[Oleg Losoto article under the "View from Moscow" rubric: "Food for Thought"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The world public received with great interest the unilateral armed forces reductions announced by the USSR and some of its allies. As already reported in the press, this reduction, which is not subject to any conditions, is quite significant. The Soviet Armed Forces are to be reduced by 500,000 men. At the same time, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft are to be cut. The defense budget is being reduced by 14.2 percent, and the production of arms and military hardware is being cut by approximately one-fifth. Plans for the conversion of military production are being examined.

In addition, following agreement with the allies, six Soviet tank divisions are to be withdrawn from the territory of the GDR, CSSR, and Hungary and disbanded [rasformirovany] within the next 2 years, and airborne-assault—including assault-crossing—units and combined units are to be removed from the groups of Soviet forces stationed in these countries.

In turn, the governments of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia have also decided to reduce their armies.

The total figures are as follows: Personnel are to be reduced by more than 56,000 men, and more than 1,900 tanks, 130 combat aircraft, and other military hardware are to be cut. These countries' military budgets are to be reduced on average by 13.6 percent.

These are the parameters of the concrete implementation of the new military doctrine. The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee statement "On the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Alliance Force Strengths and Armaments in Europe and Adjoining Waters," which has been published in the press, falls in the same category. This means that all the socialist countries that will take part in the upcoming talks of 23 countries on the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe have announced unilateral reductions of their armies and military expenditure. Romania implemented a 5-percent cut in its military expenditure, and consequently its army, in 1987.

What is this? An example to be emulated? And why not. In any case, this is food for serious thought for all who are not indifferent to Europe.

Many prominent Western politicians and statesmen have grasped the essence of these unusual steps and the seriousness of these undertakings. They have begun to say that "possibly we are on the threshold of a new era in East-West relations where the spirit of cooperation will replace the threat of conflict," that "this is more than a goodwill gesture." They perceive the new initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries not only as an important step from the military viewpoint but also "as a political signal which inspires hope," since, they say, it is necessary to pass from unilateral initiatives to disarmament based on treaties.

It is possible to say without exaggeration that all these initiatives and documents have immediately become part of the process of diminishing tension and strengthening mutual trust which is under way in the continent. They have become weighty arguments in favor of dialogue and detente, and cogent proof that negotiations, reciprocal compromises, and calm and patience in the discussion of the most acute issues, rather than the buildup of force which took place for decades, is the way toward tomorrow's nonviolent world.

It would, of course, be the height of naivete to claim that the main questions have already been resolved and that the initiatives of the socialist countries met with general rejoicing. This is not so. Today too, as has been the case many times in the past, some people have tried and are still trying to present them as "the Soviets' latest propaganda maneuver" and so on and so forth on the same lines. This has caused a real rumpus in the camp of the champions "of the deterrence doctrine." Do not trust the Russians and their allies—can be heard from individual offices of the military-industrial complex which have not been aired since the times of the "cold war."

Nonetheless, the situation in the world is changing. The new thinking is taking root in many capitals, government offices, and political forums; it is determining the nature of debate and is bringing countries and peoples closer together.

The time which has elapsed since the announcement of the socialist countries' new initiatives has shown that interest in them is not only not waning but is, on the contrary, increasing. Today there are virtually no events, visits, or talks in Europe at which the unilateral steps of the Soviet Union and its allies are not touched upon to some degree. For instance, they literally hovered over the so-called "familiarization" tour of European countries by U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, in the course of which the priorities of Washington's policy in the foreign and

military spheres were defined. The United States is trying to exert pressure on the other NATO countries with respect to the modernization of Lance short-range missiles. Many serious politicians are asking: Will not a decision on modernization block the disarmament process now under way and lead to an exacerbation of East-West relations? Do not the modernization plans serve as a cover for the creation of fundamentally new missile systems?

The history of the future nuclear-free world—and mankind has no alternative unless you count the ruinous slide into the bottomless pit of nuclear destruction—is being written today by all countries, big and small, by their concrete actions.

The unilateral reduction of armed forces, armaments, and military budgets which has been announced by a number of socialist countries is not just an example of goodwill and peaceable aspirations; it is also an important step in present-day European realities. Complex processes are under way in Europe in which, alongside efforts to overcome stereotyped thinking and to review values, new realistic approaches toward greater confidence and reliable security are being formulated and tested. The path toward these goals can only be a joint one.

Idea of Demilitarized Corridor for Europe Welcomed
PM2802134789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[B. Tuzmukhamedov article under the rubric "The UN Speech: An Impetus for Quest and Action": "Security Corridor"—first three paragraphs printed in boldface]

[Text] I was given a copy of THE NEW YORK TIMES article entitled "On the Basis of Gorbachev's Proposals" by Ralph Earle, one of its authors, on the day it was published. A delegation from the Soviet Jurists Association was visiting the United States at the time to hold a scheduled conference with the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control. R. Earle—one of its leaders—is an outstanding public figure, once an eminent member of the Carter administration, and head of the U.S. delegation to the SALT II talks. Co-author Elliot Richardson is also well-known, having held on several occasions different ministerial offices in the U.S. Administration, including the office of secretary of defense. Briefly speaking, they are people whose opinion carries weight in the United States, people whose opinion is heeded.

Ralph bought that particular issue of the newspaper at the station in Evanston, where we boarded the suburban train into Chicago. He suggested that I read it and that we exchange opinions. But, owing to the pressure of other affairs, we got no opportunity to resume our conversation on that topic.

What did Ralph Earle and Elliot Richardson write in THE NEW YORK TIMES?

Their article, the positive tone of which reflects the changes occurring in the attitudes of Americans toward us, joined a stream of U.S. press response, mostly positive, to M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech on 7 December 1988 and to the major foreign policy initiatives contained in it, primarily as regards improving the military-political situation in Europe.

Appraising highly the bold steps announced in the Soviet leader's speech, the article's authors suggest an idea which, in their opinion, "will make an accidental conflict improbable and a successful deliberate attack virtually impossible." They address a confidence- and security-building measure taking the form of the creation of a corridor along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact Organization and NATO Armed Forces in central Europe. The U.S. experts assume that the situation now is more favorable than ever before for the creation of such a corridor. They are convinced of this by "the authoritative support for the corridor idea" which they perceive in the well-known proposals made by the Polish and Czechoslovak leaderships, the publication of the Soviet defensive doctrine, and the Soviet Union's readiness to embark on the elimination of prevailing imbalances and asymmetries in armed forces and armaments.

R. Earle and E. Richardson write that, ideally, this would be an 100-km wide strip along the line of contact between the two military-political alliances in Europe. In their opinion, NATO and Warsaw Pact military personnel could remain within the zone, but the most destabilizing arms branches would be subject to withdrawal: tanks, armored personnel carriers, strike helicopters, and artillery pieces over 120 mm in caliber. All tactical combat aircraft would also be subject to withdrawal, and they would be prohibited from returning to the air space above the corridor or to bases sited within it without advance notification.

In the opinion of the authors, these relatively simple measures would prevent either side from launching a large-scale attack without the preparations for it being noticed. In addition, there would be a reduction in the level of existing confrontation of arms (like, for example, of tanks in border regions) and in the likelihood of some clash evolving into a major conflict.

They are convinced that such a corridor is perfectly feasible. The financial costs involved in the withdrawal of men, equipment, and weapons would be repaid with interest in terms of enhanced confidence and security, while its implementation would promote progress at the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe.

Essentially, what the article's authors propose is a measure that has been well-known for a long time and has been repeatedly applied in the past. It is a matter of a

partially demilitarized zone. This is a territory whose use for certain types of military activity is prohibited, where there are restrictions on the level of arms, their firepower, and so on.

Partially demilitarized zones have been most widely used in practical international relations, being set up as buffers between potential enemies and as a means for reducing the threat of an armed clash between them. But over the last 2-3 decades the line of confrontation between the military alliances in Europe has become the site of a high concentration of armed forces and arms. In addition, the actual development of arms, the enhancement of their speed, maneuverability, firepower, range, and accuracy of strike, and other specifications have gone a long way toward diminishing the past attractiveness of demilitarized zones along borders.

Now, however, with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the document of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe signed and in operation, when a date has been set for opening the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and for resumption of the talks on confidence- and security-building measures, in other words when a path has been laid leading to a radical reduction in the level of military confrontation on the European Continent, it is fitting to recall a measure like the demilitarization of contiguous territories.

And even though R. Earle and E. Richardson make no mention of this, the problems raised in their article have been worked out for several years now between the Warsaw Pact allies at intergovernmental level. In addition to the initiatives mentioned by the authors and known as the "Jaruzelski Plan" and the "Jakes Plan," it ought to be remembered that, as far back as 1986, the Budapest conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee examined the question of reducing the concentration of troops along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and other measures capable of building up the confidence of countries belonging to these two alliances and of all European states that no offensive operations would be undertaken against them.

The statement on talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, adopted at the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee Warsaw conference in 1988, contained a special section dedicated to measures to reduce and eliminate the danger of surprise attack. The basic measure would be to create along the line of contact between the two military-political alliances strips (zones) where the arms level would be reduced to a point which would ensure only defensive operations and would rule out the likelihood of effecting a surprise attack. The document contained ideas about determining the depth of these strips (zones) and about concurrent confidence-building measures which would limit military activity within them.

But let us turn back to the actual article. A number of its propositions raise questions and doubts. For example, it does not contain a full list of "the most destabilizing arms." The list does not include tactical missile weapons, assault crossing means, and infantry combat vehicles. How acceptable is the suggested depth of the corridor? Does this mean that the concentration of men, equipment, and weapons outside the corridor would be sharply increased? It would probably be worth giving some thought to the creation of strips adjacent to the corridor where the density of arms would decrease as one approached the corridor. As regards missile and artillery systems, only antitank and antiaircraft systems could remain within the corridor.

It is also unclear how the authors picture the verification of the corridor's creation and maintenance. As a matter of fact, the revolutionary solutions discovered in the monitoring sphere during the elaboration of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and the Stockholm conference document will help find an answer to this question.

In short, the article by R. Earle and E. Richardson is certainly a constructive attempt to find new approaches to dialogue with the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies and to produce an appropriate answer to the initiatives of the socialist countries.

But this is not the only trend in the United States. Last December saw the publication of the third volume of "Mandate for Leadership," a publication by the Heritage Foundation, whose main objective is to keep alive the myth of the "Soviet military threat." Other examples are not hard to come by, either: As if to provide a counterbalance, THE NEW YORK TIMES publishers printed on the same page as the article by R. Earle and E. Richardson a note by William Safire whose call was "not to trust Gorbachev" and to use all means to weaken the Soviet Union by subjecting it to political, economic, and military pressure.

Nonetheless, I would like to believe that it will be not the Heritage Foundation, W. Safire, and others like them, but realism and common sense that will determine U.S. actions toward the Soviet Union and the initiatives to strengthen peace and security.

NATO War Game Criticized as 'Anachronism'

PM2802133789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Yevgeniy Grigoryev "Correspondent's Comment": "Who Needs Anachronisms"]

[Text] Bonn, 24 Feb—The NATO command and staff exercises code-named "Wintex-Simex-89" started today. In this context, the newspaper DIE WELT reports..."terrible" news. "Despite all the Warsaw Pact's peace-loving assurances, NATO has fallen victim to its aggression after a brief and fierce political confrontation.

The cities of Wolfsburg, Fulda, and Coburg have already been captured by Red forces. Defensive battles are being fought near Goettingen, but the West German 2d Armored Tank Division is holding firm(!)"

This is how the newspaper describes the starting disposition of forces in NATO's war game. Even though everything is happening only on paper, everything must be just like real war. And NATO's generals expect a nuclear war. "For the first time," the journal DER SPIEGEL reports, "NATO intends to rehearse not only the first use of U.S. nuclear weapons but also the follow-on second attack in which 25 nuclear bombs and missiles are due to be 'launched,' at least one-third of them on FRG territory."

..."Wintex-Simex" exercises have been held every 2 years since the early seventies. Scenarios are modified, but they invariably proceed from the flawed premise of "limited nuclear war in Europe." Another typical feature of the exercises is the fact that a total military conflict is played out, involving "front and rear alike." Representatives of the federal government and the Bundestag once more seek refuge in the man-made caves of special bomb shelters during the planned apocalypse. Other civilian institutions join the military in rehearsing mobilization, salvage, repair, and evacuation measures.

The FRG population is sufficiently fully aware of what may befall the country in the event of a military clash, let alone following the detonation of the "one-third" of nuclear bombs and missiles which the "Wintex-Simex" planners have cold-bloodedly allocated for FRG territory. Antimilitary moods are now a noticeable aspect of the local political scene. It is therefore no wonder that "Wintex-Simex" is coming up against widespread public antagonism and resolute protest.

In an attempt to provide some sort of counterbalance, all components of the civilian administration in Bavaria are participating in these exercises. But this is just in Bavaria. As regards Baden-Wuerttemberg, a land governed by the Christian Democrats, only one-third of the rural districts are involved in the "game" there. The governments of the states of Schleswig-Holstein, Saar, Hamburg, and Bremen, which are headed by Social Democrats, refused altogether to participate in the "civilian part" of NATO's maneuvers. Simultaneously, on their initiative, protest actions by peace-loving forces began in 120 FRG cities and localities and will continue until 9 March, in other words until the NATO exercises end.

Unfortunately, NATO's political and military leadership has never been marked by a sense of realism. This is especially obvious now. The elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is continuing. The USSR and other Warsaw Pact countries are unilaterally reducing their armed forces and giving them an increasingly defensive character. Finally, the long-awaited talks on reduction of arms and armed forces on the European Continent are due to open in the next few days in Vienna. Does genuine political responsibility fit in with NATO's latest war game? Here we have an obvious anachronism. One would find it hard to make a different assessment from positions of common sense.

Differences Within NATO on Modernization Noted

LD2802154489 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—By TASS political analyst Yevgeniy Babenko:

Having returned to Washington after meetings and negotiations with twenty foreign leaders, the U.S. President George Bush expressed, on the one hand, satisfaction with the progress achieved in relations with America's allies and friends, and, on the other, admitted that there were still differences among them, that it was necessary to strengthen the Western alliances.

An extra proof of such differences is the latest Franco-British summit meeting in Paris. It sparked off several controversies between Francois Mitterrand and Margaret Thatcher.

Though they both spoke positively of the changes that have occurred between the West and the East in recent years, of the processes going on in the Soviet Union, the French president and the British prime minister disagreed on the problem of modernizing NATO nuclear arms in West European territories. Whereas Thatcher believes that the North Atlantic alliance should be urgently armed with the most up-to-date weapons, Mitterrand insists that such a step could be taken only if Moscow was to adopt identical measures.

Commenting on the British premier's pronouncements, THE FINANCIAL TIMES points out that they, in fact, echo the Anglo-American view that a decision of principle on new short-range missiles to replace the "Lance" should be passed already this May at NATO's meeting in Brussels. As to France, it adheres to an intermediate stand between that of London and Bonn, THE GUARDIAN believes. The latter is known to have come out for the postponment of the problem's solution to 1992.

It would hardly be right to criticize one side and praise the other. But there is food for thought, nevertheless.

There are obviously very few people in Western capitals nowadays who would insist that the all-European process is not developing or that a "common European home" is impractical. The new political thinking is making headway not only in the eastern part of our continent. Negotiations, to which all Europeans are looking forward, will be resumed in Vienna shortly. It is hardly necessary to retrace here the already traversed road, among others in the sphere of Soviet-American relations, which are so important for the destinies not only of the

European Continent. The positive disarmament steps of 1988 are still fresh in our memories and universally known. They warrant the international dialogue's intensification.

Calls for continuous rearmament sound anachronistic against the background of this process.

FRG Political Figure Opposes Nuclear Modernization
LD2802172189 Moscow TASS in English 1637 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn February 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Serov:

A new system of tactical nuclear weapons, to replace Lance missiles in the FRG territory, is developed in the United States. Egon Bahr, member of the SDPG [Social Democratic Party] Presidium told this at a news conference here today with a reference to conversations he held in Washington in the recent days. Representatives of the U.S. Department of Defence confirmed that absolutely new weapons, with new strategic tasks and a range of up to 500 kilometres are being developed. "Therefore 'modernisation' is not the point of the matter now. The misleading debate about 'modernisation' should be stopped", Egon Bahr said in conclusion.

The leading expert of the SDPG on disarmament matters rejected assertions that work to modernise technical nuclear weapons is allegedly underway in the USSR. He said that even in the Pentagon he had not heard anything of the kind. Thus, while the Soviet Union is not modernising but is eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles, as stipulated by the INF Treaty, new nuclear weapons are being created in the USA, Egon Bahr said.

"We, Social Democrats, hold there is every ground to demand that negotiations on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons be started simultaneously with the talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, that are to open in Vienna. One should not agree that that sector of nuclear armaments remain outside the framework of the talks," he said.

Egon Bahr said he met a considerable number of supporters of this viewpoint among American congressmen, including senators. He believes that Bonn could achieve a positive solution to this matter. He noted that there are even in the parties of the Bonn ruling CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] coalition influential supporters for the elimination of battlefield nuclear weapons, that is nuclear artillery, for these weapons pose special danger to the FRG. Touching upon the question of the complete elimination of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe, the SDPG expert emphasised that there will be absolutely no need for such weapons, if stability in the area of conventional armaments is achieved as a result of the Vienna talks.

Egon Bahr said in conclusion that the Soviet Union's proposals for disarmament are not propaganda. The USSR is really interested in achieving specific results, in reaching mutually acceptable agreements.

*CEMA Members' Indebtedness to West Detailed

WA18070532 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in RussianNo 8, 25 Feb-3 Mar 89 pp 6-7

[Article by K. Kirillov: "Are We Too Deep in Debt?"]

[Text] Issues of CEMA indebtedness to the West, of receiving and utilizing loans, have recently become acute. Could you provide information on this topic?

[signed] S. Shishkin, Perm.

At present, the combined external indebtedness of the six European socialist countries and the Soviet Union, or the so-called gross debt, amounts to $130 billion ($133 billion in 1987). According to the data of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, this debt is distributed as follows among individual CEMA countries: USSR—$40.1 billion, Poland—$38.7 billion, the GDR—$19.1 billion, Hungary—$17.0 billion, Bulgaria—$6.9 billion, Czechoslovakia—$5.2 billion, and Romania—$3.1 billion. Creditors make an effort to obtain other, more precise and reliable statistics describing the financial standing of a debtor because the overall value of gross debt gives them a quite faint and approximate idea of the actual situation of the debtor and his creditworthiness. Statistics of liquidity, or the ability to timely meet one's obligations, are such an indicator. In this case, this role is played by hard currency assets or reserves of the CEMA member countries which are subtracted from the overall sum of foreign debt in order to arrive at the net debt.

According to a report by the Bank for International Settlements in Basel (Switzerland), total hard currency reserves of the socialist countries of Europe deposited at Western banks alone exceeds $30 billion. This is both a big and a small number. Having subtracted this sum from the combined gross debt, we arrive at the so-called "net" debt of about $100 billion at year end 1988. For comparison, let us state that the debt of Brazil or Mexico alone to Western private commercial banks exceeds this level.

Out of the $30 billion in liquid assets, the Soviet Union holds $14.2 billion, and the GDR $9.2 billion, or more than all other East European countries combined.

Declining prices for raw material commodities made an impact in the form of a reduction in hard-currency proceeds of the socialist countries in 1988. Nonetheless, in the opinion of Western specialists, only the debts of one or two CEMA member countries are considered excessive or a cause for concern. This applies largely to Poland. This country has to spend 4.35 times its annual export proceeds in order to retire its foreign debt. This ratio looks somewhat better for other countries: Hungary—2.88, Bulgaria—1.8, the GDR—merely 11.5 months, Czechoslovakia—8 months, USSR—5 months. Thus, not a single European CEMA country is under pressure to immediately repay its foreign debt. Reserves accumulated by these countries, including secret deposits, insurance funds, and so forth accepted in the international banking practice which cannot be calculated, are quite adequate in order to fully pay for $40 billion in annual imports from Western countries.

According to estimates by experts from the UN Economic Commisssion for Europe, foreign debt repayment deadlines for European socialist countries may be extended because the latter have a reputation for being diligent payers.

On the whole, taking into account a reduction in the overall volume of borrowing in international financial markets in late 1987 and the first 9 months of 1988, the CEMA countries are in a favorable position: When entering the world financial market in search of new loans at this point, they use competition among Western banks which, under these circumstances, charge relatively low interest rates.

At the same time, there should not be any self-delusion. After all, hard currency debts increased by $34 billion between 1984 and 1987 only due to the declining exchange rate of the dollar, whereas "net" growth of the debt amounted to only $5 billion.

Competitive Credit

Among the recipients of credits, the USSR is given preference due to its high creditworthiness at this time. The decision of the USSR to sign major credit agreements with some West European banks (see ARGUMENTY I FAKTY 1988, No 45) was made exactly at the time when the confidence of the Western business community in the policy of reforms and democratization of the economic mechanism and restructuring in the foreign economic sphere increased greatly.

It is known that in the first years of existence of the young Soviet state V. I. Lenin announced its willingness to agree to paying any, even the highest, rates of interest on foreign loans in order to provide funds for restoring and reconstructing the national economy.

At the same time, the issue of most efficient utilization of the funds secured arises, as well as that of achieving the highest possible effect for the national economy from spending the hard currency for importing the goods needed. It is important to ensure that foreign funds for developing and modernizing production assets are not "eaten away" by ministries and departments as was the case previously, and that they do not lead to equipment not installed going into hundreds of millions of rubles. This is why the concept appears interesting of giving the additional hard currency funds to a bank which would be able to "sell" the hard currency in short supply competitively and on the basis of repayment of principal and interest rather than have the funds distributed administratively to ministries and departments on the principle "spread the goodies around."

On the one hand, this would make state enterprises and industries compete for the receipt of hard currency loans, while, on the other hand, it would increase the productivity of loans and would provide incentives for a search for expanding the export potential and thus repaying the debt and the accumulated interest.

As far as expenditures of a certain share of the hard currency proceeds for purchasing foodstuffs and manufactured consumer goods are concerned, the policy of "enforced savings" of hard currency should definitely be accompanied by the growth of domestic agricultural production, reductions in losses during storage and transportation, as well as the saturation of the consumer goods market with products of our domestic industry.

The experience of fraternal socialist countries shows that there are quite weighty economic reasons for using Western credits for development purposes. At the same time, it is necessary to continuously ensure that a tolerable level of foreign indebtness by a country is not exceeded.

CEMA Scientific Conference Opens in Moscow

LD2802142889 Moscow TASS in English 1350 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—Problems of restructuring the mechanism of multilateral cooperation, socialist integration and activity of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) are discussed at an international scientific and practical conference which opened here on Tuesday. It was organised by the CMEA Secretariat and the International Institute of Economic Problems of the World Socialist System to mark the 40th anniversary of the CMEA.

Opening the conference, Vyacheslav Sychev, the CMEA chairman, said that the CMEA activity became a major factor of the social-economic development of its member countries. The CMEA countries base their interrelation on the comprehensive concept of socialist division of labour, aimed at enhancing the role of cooperation in boosting the efficiency of national economies of the member countries. It sets out a range of measures aimed at restructuring the integration mechanism, which consists in developing advanced forms of relations at the level of product manufacturers. To this end, it is necessary to develop a new approach to price formation, foreign currency activities, the development of wholesale trade in producer goods, extension of regional trade, the strengthening of the money functions of the transferrable rouble. In the final analysis these measures should lead to the formation of a single CMEA market.

Therefore the main goal of the conference should be a search for non-traditional attitudes to the development of cooperation and optimum solution of problems that may arise, the secretary said.

Gerasimov Gives Foreign Ministry News Briefing

Shevardnadze Tour Discussed

LD2802143689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1340 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (TASS)—"Eduard Shevardnadze's talks were undertaken within the framework of the new political thinking by which the Soviet Union is guided in its foreign policy. In this thinking the idea of cooperation among states in the name of asserting common human values is paramount." This is how Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, commented today at a briefing on the tour of Near and Middle Eastern countries by the USSR foreign minister.

The USSR's commitment to untying the Middle East knot has always been sufficiently great, he stressed. Eduard Shevardnadze's talks demonstrate the increased dynamism and flexibility of Soviet diplomacy. As positive changes on the world arena in recent years show, in particular in the matter of unblocking regional conflicts, these new aspects in the USSR foreign policy are bearing good fruit.

Noting that Eduard Shevardnadze's statements have helped the formation of a correct idea of Soviet policy in the Middle East and have stressed the USSR's peacemaking role in this region, G. Gerasimov said that the trip had great significance for the strengthening and development of the USSR's relations with Arab countries.

At the same time, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed regret that "the position of the Israeli leadership is continuing as before to hinder real progress toward a stable peace in the Middle East. It "prefers to take the path of bilateral talks with Arabs, excluding the PLO and rejecting the idea of an international conference."

Replying to a question on the dispute around Salman Rushdie's book "The Satanic Verses," G. Gerasimov said that the situation that has taken shape gives rise to alarm in the Soviet leadership. If a reasonable solution is not found, then there could be unpredictable consequences, he noted. For this reason it is quite natural that, while in Tehran, Eduard Shevardnadze raised this question with the Iranian leadership. The Soviet side gained the impression that the Iranian leadership is sincerely interested in a settlement of the situation that has arisen and believes that the Soviet Union can play a positive role in this, the spokesman of the USSR Foreign Ministry noted. He reported that it is intended to use forthcoming meetings with the foreign ministers of other countries to discuss this issue.

Afghanistan Situation Detailed

LD2802204789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] USSR Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to a number of Near and Middle East countries was made within the framework of the new political thinking which is guiding USSR foreign policy. This is what Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at a briefing today. The talks held during the visits are evidence of the increased dynamism and flexibility in Soviet diplomacy, and show the positive changes of the last few years in the world arena. These new aspects in Soviet foreign policy are yielding good results.

Answering a question from a BBC correspondent, Comrade Gerasimov said that the situation that has emerged around Rushdie's book, "The Satanic Verses," worries the Soviet leadership. He noted that if no reasonable solution is found, the consequences could be unpredictable. Therefore, it is only natural that, while in Tehran, Comrade Shevardnadze raised this problem with the Iranian leadership. In all, over 2 hours were devoted to discussing the issue. The Soviet side received the impression that the Iranian Government is sincerely interested in settling the situation that has arisen and believes that the USSR could play a positive role here. In connection with this, the issue will also be discussed at the upcoming meeting in Moscow between the Soviet and Spanish foreign ministers, and also in Vienna, a meeting which will be attended by ministers from all the European states, the United States, and Canada.

Touching upon the situation in and around Afghanistan, Comrade Gerasimov said this among other things:

[Begin Gerasimov recording] After long altercations, the consultative council of the Afghan opposition—the so-called shura in Rawalpindi—set up another so-called government, already the third one. Born amid painful contradictions and personal ambitions, the Afghan opposition government or, to be more precise, the Alliance of Seven's government, is as little viable as the previous opposition cabinets, and this government has not been recognized even by such mujahidin patrons as Pakistan and the United States, let alone other countries. Only the creation of a broad coalition power with the participation of all the political forces in Afghanistan—and, of course, including the powerful, capable, and well-organized People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan—can secure peace and stability on Afghan land.

As regards the situation in Afghanistan itself: Kabul is outwardly quiet, though continuous activities of the underground, which is trying to destabilize the situation, lurk behind the surface. Rebel activity has increased considerably along the Kabul-Khayratan road. After the operations by government troops in the south Salang

area several subversive groups, who were trying to paralyze traffic along the road, were destroyed. The opposition has also been trying to cut the electric power supply to Kabul. Yesterday 80 rockets were fired in the vicinity of the Sarowbi thermoelectric power station. Generally in the country, particularly in the provinces of Nangahar, Paktia, Herat, Baghlan, and Parvan, and in Khowst district, the situation remains complex. The opposition has been shelling administrative centers and security points. Pakistan, in violation of the Geneva accords, convoys with weapons, ammunition, and military formations to pass through Pakistan. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Norwegian Group To Visit

LD2802153989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1405 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 28 Feb (TASS)—The USSR's commitment to untying the Middle East knot has always been sufficiently great. Eduard Shevardnadze's tour of countries of the Near and Middle East, which ended on Monday, demonstrates the increased dynamism and flexibility of Soviet diplomacy, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said at a briefing today. [passage omitted]

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman also reported that from 9-16 March the first visit to the USSR in the history of Soviet-Norwegian interparliamentary ties will be made by a delegation of the Storting Military Committee. The program envisages talks for members of the Military Committee at the USSR Supreme Soviet, the Foreign Ministry, the Defense Ministry, and at institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In Leningrad and Murmansk, the delegation will meet representatives of the Leningrad Military District and will visit a number of military installations.

Commenting on the setting up of the Afghan opposition of another "government" in Rawalpindi, G. Gerasimov noted that even such patrons of the mujahidin as Pakistan and the United States do not recognize it. He stressed that the setting up of a broad-based coalition government, capable of securing peace and stability on Afghan territory, is possible only with the participation of all political forces of Afghanistan, including, of course, the active and organized PDPA. [passage omitted]

Ties With Spain Noted

LD2802134789 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—At the invitation of the Soviet Government, Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez will arrive in the USSR on March 2, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a news briefing here on Tuesday.

"We attach great significance to the forthcoming visit, given Spain's prominent role in European and international affairs," he said. Meetings with the Spanish minister are also important, since Spain is currently presiding in the Council of European Communities, which entered into a dialogue with the Soviet Union, a dialogue which is gaining momentum and being filled with concrete contents.

The Soviet spokesman expressed the hope that the visit of the Spanish minister would mark positive contribution to the further development of Soviet-Spanish relations.

Contrasting French, Israeli Stances Viewed

PM2702111789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by unnamed IZVESTIYA own correspondent: "France-Israel: Positions as Before"]

[Text] Paris—Despite all the international community's efforts to secure some movement on the problem of a Near East settlement, Tel Aviv still intends to block the process and is sticking to its old positions. This conclusion is reached by observers commenting on the results of Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir's visit to France, which is now over.

During the talks in Paris, the Israeli Government expounded its three-point program: a categorical no to the formation of a Palestinian state and the holding of an international conference on the Near East, and rejection of any talks with the PLO. As for Paris, it advocates a diametrically opposite approach, the paper LE MONDE stresses: The people on the banks of the Seine are prepared to recognize a Palestinian state, regard PLO Executive Committee Chairman Y. 'Arafat as a full negotiating partner, and are actively promoting the convening of an international conference on the Near East. After his conversation with Y. Shamir, President F. Mitterrand stated with regret that he had not seen anything new in Israel's proposals. Moreover, he had advised the prime minister "to take into account the existing reality" connected with the Palestinian uprising that has now been going on for 15 months on the occupied territories.

Y. Shamir's stubborn rejection of all proposals contributing to the establishment of peace in the region prompted French journalists to call him "Mr No" and to note Israel's increasing isolation.

While in Paris the prime minister placed special emphasis on the friendly relations between France and Israel. "France's opinion is very important to us," Y. Shamir said at a press conference.

But the paradox is that Tel Aviv itself does not want to heed it. Washington's opinion is still the only one that has significance for it. At the same time, it is believed

here, the Israeli leaders are bound to take into account the changes in the international atmosphere and the general desire for a solution to the Near East conflict.

IPPNW's Kuzin Outlines Movement's Aims

PM2802093189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[Interview with M.I. Kuzin, academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences and cochairman of the international movement "International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" under the heading "Scientists Concerned" by A. Balandin—date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The leadership of the international IPPNW [International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War] movement has appealed to M.S. Gorbachev and G. Bush (see IZVESTIYA No 364, 1988) and also to all states which produce nuclear weapons to give medical scientists and specialists in environmental protection maximum access to information that will allow them to conduct a scientific analysis of the medical and ecological consequences of nuclear weapon production and testing. These problems will also be discussed at the all-union conference of the Soviet committee of the IPPNW, to be held in April this year in Moscow. The aims of this initiative are now discussed by Mikhail Ilich Kuzin, cochairman of the international movement and academician of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences.

[Balandin] You need "maximum access to information." Has the radiation situation in the world really become such a threat to the population of this planet? After all, nuclear weapons have only been used once, and that was a long time ago—against Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

[Kuzin] Do not forget that since Hiroshima, during nuclear weapons tests, far more powerful explosions have been produced; the hydrogen bomb over Novaya Zemlya, for example. Or take the explosion of an American hydrogen bomb in the region of Bikini Atoll: The contamination extended over thousands of square kilometers. This means that radioactive pollution has sharply increased since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as has the number of people who have fallen ill, unfortunately. That is why the public has begun to sound the alarm.

[Balandin] What kind of information do scientists need? Do you not think that access to much information is still going to be limited to some extent because of considerations of secrecy?

[Kuzin] Discussing this question at a session of our executive committee, we reached the conclusion that it would be unrealisti. to demand technological information. We are not concerned with where uranium ore is mined or in what quantities, how it is enriched, or how the nuclear weapons themselves are produced. The very existence of life on earth is incompatible with nuclear weapons. The choice in this respect is not very great. Either we have nuclear weapons, or we have life on earth. This dilemma is now universally recognized. But, scientists are interested in information about the damage that can be caused by the process of manufacturing, storing, and testing nuclear weapons. For example, the extraction of uranium ore is undoubtedly associated with danger to people's health. But just how great is that danger? This kind of information is confidential both in our country and abroad.

We also know that the process of enriching uranium and extracting plutonium is associated with the possibility of gaseous products escaping and radioactive substances getting into the water used to cool the reactors. These radioactive elements could eventually get into the bodies of people totally unconnected with this kind of production.

The Americans, for example, refer to their nuclear weapons production plants as "creeping Chernobyls": The area around them is slowly being contaminated. We believe that people should know everything about the danger lying in wait for them. We cannot rule out the possibility that even tests produce dangerous by-products. And where is the guarantee that highly active fissionable material remaining underground, even in hard rock, will not in time seep into groundwater? We need reliable information.

[Balandin] The IPPNW statement says that nuclear weapons can be harmful to people's health and the state of the environment by the very fact of their existence. What is meant by this?

[Kuzin] It is very simple. Nuclear weapons have to be periodically tested in order to check their combat readiness. From time to time the tritium in the nuclear warheads has to be replaced. This means that there is a danger of fissionable materials entering the environment.

[Balandin] Does the research conducted by your international organization consider problems connected with the use of nuclear power plants?

[Kuzin] Nuclear power is not really an unmixed blessing for mankind, of course. We must look for alternative energy sources. Uranium reserves are not boundless either. And the storage of large quantities of waste is a problem. But, for the moment, the priority issue as far as we are concerned is still the military aspect of the nuclear problem.

[Balandin] Obviously it would be premature to draw any conclusions before exhaustive information is made available. However, what kind of result are you expecting, and what does the movement intend to do?

[Kuzin] We are hoping that the leaders of countries which produce nuclear weapons are going to lift the veil of secrecy on this issue on the basis of a humane,

charitable attitude to people. When we are given objective information, we will make a scientific interpretation with the aim of working out specific recommendations to protect people's health and the environment. We hope this will help speed progress on the way to totally eliminating nuclear weapons.

Formal Ties With European Communities Sought

LD2802154389 Moscow TASS in English 1518 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—The USSR wants a formal relationship with the European Communities to "broaden the vistas of cooperation in Europe", a Soviet Foreign Ministry official said on Tuesday.

Yuri Buzykin, deputy chief of the Ministry's Directorate for International Economic Relations, was commenting at a briefing here on recent consultations in Brussels between a Soviet delegation and the Commision of European Communities (CEC).

He said that the consultations dealt with the issues of signing an agreement between the USSR and the three communities on cooperation in economic fields and that the Soviet Union wants the agreement to be wide-ranging, covering trade and cooperation in science, technology and other areas.

Buzykin added that the CEC "created a very favourable atmosphere for discussing the substance of these problems", and expressed the hope that formal talks on an agreement will open as early as next autumn.

Economic Counselors Discuss Foreign Ties

PM2702120189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 21 February a conference of economic counselors from a number of Soviet embassies was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, delivered a report to the conference.

The conference discussed questions of increasing the efficiency of the work of Soviet embassies in developing economic, scientific, and technical cooperation with foreign countries in conditions of increasing interaction between international economic relations and the positive political processes taking place in the world today.

Trade Group Director on Economic Ties With Asia

OW2802044989 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia1200 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Dear listeners, nearly 6 months has passed since the Soviet Association for Business Cooperation with Countries of the Asian-Pacific Region was established in Vladivostok. The association is sponosred by 85 Soviet enterprises, joint companies, and organizations, including the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank, the Far East Shipping Bureau, and some large fishing, mining, and metallurgical corporations. The association helps Soviet joint companies, enterprises, and organizations develop and strengthen cooperation with counterparts in the Asian-Pacific region.

Lozovoy, general director of the association, gave a detailed introduction to the association.

[Lozovoy is briefly heard, speaking in Russian, fading into Chinese translation] Our association is the fifth of this kind in the nation, after associations for business cooperation with the FRG, Italy, Indonesia, and [word indistinct]. Although they are different from one another in structure and other aspects, they all share the same goal, that is, to help Soviet producers make inroads into the international market and develop mutually beneficial business cooperation. One of our tasks is to sponsor, together with other countries in the Asian-Pacific region, meetings of business circles, exchange experts, and train personnel. We study the know-how of our partners and do our level best to help them find enterprises and organizations which are willing to enter into cooperation with them. Our telex receives proposals everyday from companies in the Philippines, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand. Indonesia has also become more active in participating in business cooperation. Contracts for providing timber, [word indistinct], fertilizer, and [word indistinct] to these nations will be signed soon. In addition, we are also planning to sponsor game hunting for foreign tourists in the forests in the Far East where rare animals abound. At present, we are formulating a plan for setting up joint enterprise zones in the Far East. Foreign companies and banks investing in the development of these zones will be given the most favored treatment. Companies which come up with the best plans for developing natural resources or for producing consumer goods will be given preferential treatment. We set up a branch in Uglegorsk City where timber processing enterprises and other production facilities will be set up in cooperation with foreign companies. Other projects under study include a Soviet-Chinese joint venture enterprise for assembling, installing, and repairing power equipment, a joint venture hotel in Vladivostok, and a joint enterprise for manufacturing furniture in Nakhodka.

Lozovoy continued: A South Korean delegation visited Vladivostok not long ago. The Daewoo Company delegation visited Vladivostok, the winter port in Nakhodka, met with experts, and studied our production facilities.

During the delegation's stay, a plan for jointly processing timber was discussed. The two sides worked out a program for refitting fishing fleets in the Far East and signed a contract for refitting the (Stask) floating base to be built in a South Korean shipyard and for jointly processing [word indistinct]. We hope to actively promote cooperation with other nations in the Asian-Pacific region.

International Reactor Safety Seminar in Ukraine

LD2802101489 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Kiev February 28 TASS—An international seminar, which opened at the Rovno atomic power station (western part of the Ukraine), is centred on the need for further enhancing the safety of atomic electric power stations equipped with VVER-440 reactors. The seminar is attended by atomic power plant directors and leading specialists from Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Cuba, Poland, USSR, Czechoslovakia and Finland, the countries which use such reactors.

The first VVER-440 reactors were put into operation at the Rovno atomic power station almost ten years ago. They laid the beginning to a new series of basic reactors which are now used not only in the USSR but also in the CMEA member countries, and in Finland.

"We have lately been frequently hosting foreign colleagues at our station," Rovno atomic power station director Vladimir Korovkin told TASS. "The personnel of our station had, for instance, useful meetings with U.S. power specialists—members of the Soviet-American Coordination Civil Reactor Safety Commission."

The participants in the seminar will hear reports by scientists and specialists from atomic power stations of a number of countries. They will also get acquainted with the station.

United States & Canada

'Changes' in U.S. SDI Policy Applauded

LD2802221789 Moscow TASS in English 2156 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Vladimir Bogachev commentary]

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—by Vladimir Bogachev, TASS military writer

If we are to believe the present U.S. vice president, the situation around the SDI, the beloved programme of Ronald Reagan, has not virtually changed with the coming of the new U.S. Administration to the White House. Speaking at the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington on Monday, Dan Quayle assured the gathering that the U.S.A. "remains committed to the research, testing, development... of a viable Strategic Defence Initiative" and intends to "begin deployment for a missile defence system as soon as practical".

However, despite Quayle's assurances, changes did take place in the approach of Washington to the "star wars". Nobody speaks now of the SDI's ability to make nuclear weapons "powerless and outdated". Even Defence Secretary-Designate John Tower does not believe it possible to develop an anti-ballistic missile shield to protect the entire American population from nuclear destruction. He said this was unreal at Senate hearings. It is indicative that U.S. General Brent Scowcroft, who resolutely opposed the SDI back in 1985, was appointed to the key post of national security adviser in the Bush administration. According to his closest aides, the U.S. President himself is inclined to prefer a less expensive version of anti-ballistic defence only with partial deployment of systems proposed under the Reagan administration. Most U.S. congressmen are very skeptical about the "star wars" programme. They refused to approve appropriations for the SDI requested by the Reagan Cabinet.

It was clear since the day Reagan declared his "Star Wars" programme that the SDI pursued, above all, political ends and not the protection of the U.S. population from a nuclear attack. Not a single, most ardent advocate of the SDI dared to claim that any, even the most sophisticated ABM system could ensure 99 percent destruction of missiles fired on the U.S.A. in a retaliatory strike. Incidentally, the penetration of the SDI system even by 1-3 percent of nuclear warheads will result in a disaster which will roll back the U.S.A. to a stone age.

Washington staked on a premise that the Soviet Union would be drawn into a space arms race in response to the American SDI, which would undermine its economy. U.S. war planners proceeded from the fact that up to 1985 the USSR had nearly always started developing weapons systems which the U.S.A. had been designing: nuclear submarines, multiple independently-targetable re-entry vehicles, etc. But they miscalculated this time. The Soviet leadership declared quite unequivocally that in ensuring its security, the USSR would not follow senseless and expensive scenarios worked out by the Pentagon and that its reply to the SDI would be efficient, quick and much less expensive. Course of Washington for the USSR's economic emaciation in the arms race ended in a flop. [as received]

New political thinking which triumphed in the Soviet Union, was of immense importance. The image of a "Soviet enemy" began crumbling in the eye of the American public. It has become more difficult for the Pentagon to pump money for the preparation of a space war while the USSR makes big unilateral cuts in its armaments.

The U.S. financial situation also played an important role. The constant rise in military expenditures under President Reagan resulted in a huge federal budget deficit. The country's national debt reached a staggering sum—2,700 billion dollars. The continuation of the SDI programme in its initial version might bring about its considerable increase.

Events unthinkable only 3-4 years ago take place in our age of a vigorous spread of new political thinking in the international arena. It is to be hoped that common sense will also take the upper hand in Washington in resolving the question on the further fate of the "star wars" programme, which is justifiably called "space rubbish" by American scientists.

Paper Reports on Bush's Speech on Asian Tour

PM0103141589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS dispatch: "G. Bush Returns from Asian Tour"]

[Text] Washington, 28 Feb—On Monday night U.S. President George Bush returned to Washington from his visit to Japan, China, and South Korea. At Andrews Air Force Base, near the U.S. capital, the head of the administration made a statement in which he summed up the results of his talks with the leaders of these countries and also his meetings with the leaders of a number of foreign states in Tokyo.

During the talks in Japan, Bush said, "the commitments we share in the defense sphere" were the focus of attention. The President also discussed opportunities for the two countries' cooperation in ensuring stable economic growth "not only at home, but also in developing countries."

Characterizing the results of his talks with the Chinese leadership, Bush stated that in the course of these talks "it became perfectly clear that China is approaching the thaw in relations with the Soviet Union with caution and realism." It is necessary to judge by deeds, rather than words, Bush said, pointing out that an important factor in the development of USSR-Chinese relations is the

reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces on the border with China and the settlement of the situation around Cambodia. The President stated that Washington and Beijing intend to strive for the holding in Cambodia of "free elections under a coalition government headed by Prince Sihanouk," whom Bush also met in Beijing. The United States is committed to the idea of a settlement that would "rule out a return to power of the Khmer Rouge"—the Polpotites—the president emphasized.

He expressed satisfaction with the results of his trip to South Korea, noting that the country's security "is being ensured by our joint efforts and vigilance."

The president announced that in all he had had talks with 20 foreign leaders. Bush said he intends to brief the leadership of the Congress on the results of his talks in the near future, and hopes for the lawmakers' support in the implementation of his foreign policy.

Bush Asia Tour Shows U.S. Still 'Indecisive'

OW0103083189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2315 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast; Yevgeniy Lukyanov commentary]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush has returned to Washington after visiting Japan, China, and South Korea. Here is what our commentator has to say:

[Lukyanov] Hello. After arriving in the U.S. capital, the head of the U.S. Administration, in a statement, characterized his visit as fruitful and satisfactory. According to him, it served as confirmation of the fact that the United States is and will remain a Pacific power. Bush also noted that during meetings and talks in Japan, China, and South Korea, progress was achieved in strengthening durable and mutually advantageous relations with allies and friends. He stressed that his talks with the leaders of some 20 countries attending the Tokyo funeral of Emperor Hirohito gave him an opportunity to outline the central and most important directions of U.S. foreign policy.

This was the first official assessment of the results of this visit. At the same time, according to foreign political observers, it also showed something else: Namely that Bush's visits to Tokyo, Beijing, and Seoul did not dispel the impression that Washington is indecisive in foreign policy questions. Apparently there are several reasons for this. Bush's hurriedly-organized Asian tour on the occasion of the Japanese emperor's funeral, little over a month after the President took office, fell precisely at a time when the new White House Administration was conducting an analysis of the international situation. Moreover, the administration itself is missing one of its key elements, namely the secretary of defense. The future of the aspirant to this position, John Tower, is still in question.

Hence, as AFP notes, it was extremely difficult for President Bush to propose any initiatives in the countries he visited. In Tokyo he even had to go on the defensive over the issue of a Middle East settlement. In response to an appeal from some of the region's leaders that he support the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East, the U.S. President replied that it was essential to thoroughly study any new approach to the solution of this problem.

Observers note that his indecisiveness and extreme caution over some questions of foreign policy forced Secretary of State Baker to repeatedly explain during the visit that George Bush has only been in the White House a month and that he plans to act at his customary speed and will not be driven by events.

Bush Asia Visit Shows U.S. Policy 'Adrift'

LD0103133589 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Nikolay Gorshkov commentary]

[Text] President Bush's visit to Asia, although called productive by his aides, appears to have failed to dissipate the impression that the new administration's policy is adrift. Nikolay Gorshkov looks into the matter:

[Gorshkov] Mr Bush's trip seems to have lacked a specific agenda, possibly because it was rather hastily organized for Emperior Hirohito's funeral. Hence the talks in Tokyo, for example, were no more than get-acquainted sessions. Commentators in Asia remarked that it was the first time a new United States President had visited Asia before Europe and said the trip was extraordinary in coming so early in Bush's tenure. But then we often hear that the coming 21st Century will be a Pacific century, with that part of the world becoming the pivot of international affairs. It was difficult for President Bush so early in his Presidency to launch any initiative in Japan or China or South Korea. In fact his Secretary of State, James Baker, had to stress ever so often during the 5-day trip that Mr Bush has been in office for only a month and would act without being rushed by events. This obviously led Mr Bush to take up a position of extreme caution on the Middle East in his bilateral talks with foreign leaders on the sidelines of Emperor Hirohito's funeral in Tokyo.

Mr Bush was notably noncommittal in his conversations with King Husayn of Jordan and President Mubarak of Egypt, who asked the President to support an international conference on the Middle East which would include the Palestine Liberation Organization.

As for Asia, Mr Bush, who arrived in Beijing less than 3 months before a coming Soviet-Chinese summit, said that the United States had nothing to fear from a Soviet-Chinese rapprochement. And indeed, Soviet new

thinking policies are contributing to scaling down tensions in Asia as well as other parts of the world. Kampuchea, from which the Vietnamese have undertaken to pull out by September, is a case in point.

In Seoul Mr Bush pledged to safeguard South Korea's security by maintaining the large American military presence there. Such a pledge came at a time when even the South Korean leadership appears to be giving in to mounting public pressure to do away with some of the more irritating features of the United States military presence.

Bush China Visit; PRC, Taiwan Ties Viewed
OW0103082589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, as we have already reported, U.S. President George Bush paid a working visit to Beijing and held talks with China's senior leaders and other officials on a wide range of bilateral and international issues. On this, our station commentator Nikolayev writes:

The fact that the U.S. President made a brief trip to China shortly after his inauguration explains the great importance attached by the new U.S. Administration to developing relations with China. This was emphasized by Bush himself during his visit to Beijing, while the Chinese side also clearly indicated a wish to consolidate Sino-U.S. relations.

In an interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES last week, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said that Sino-U.S. relations might see a great advance during Bush's tenure. Hence, it is obvious to all that while noting the substantial growth in Sino-U.S. relations over the past decade, the two sides have paid a great deal of attention to problems still overshadowing bilateral relations. Bush's talks in Beijing have once again proved that the Taiwan question remains an obstacle.

During a meeting with the U.S. President on 26 February, Chinese Premier Li Peng frankly pointed out: We have attached special importance to the Taiwan question. The Chinese leader said: Some people in the United States have attempted to interfere in China's internal affairs. The question was even more explicitly stated in the Chinese foreign minister's interview with THE NEW YORK TIMES. He stressed that there exists an erroneous view among some activists in the U.S. Government, who believe that perpetuating the separation between Taiwan and China's mainland would be in the interest of the U.S. He urged the United States to help facilitate the (?process) of Taiwan's return to China.

What was the U.S. President's response, and what was his stance on this question? The U.S. President admitted that Taiwan is an important question to the Chinese Government and people. This was pointed out on the eve of his visit to China, and again during his talks with the Chinese leaders. At the meeting with Li Peng, the U.S. President said: The U.S. Government still abides by the one-China policy. He expressed satisfaction with the growing contacts between Taiwan and mainland China in various fields. At the same time, observers have noted, Bush did not make any promise to stop military aid to the Taiwan regime, and this is a cause of China's continued anxiety.

It is entirely understandable that the Taiwan authorities have closely watched the U.S. President's visit to China. It is interesting to note that an official of the Taiwan regime has expressed a firm belief that the United States will, as usual, strictly fulfill its commitment to its old friends on the Taiwan island. Time will tell us the new U.S. Administration's actual policy toward the Taiwan question.

Bush Delays Decision on U.S. Taiwan Policy
OW0103095889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 28 Feb 89

[(Recto Krislov) on Bush's China visit]

[Text] [Announcer] When U.S. President Bush was ready to visit China last week, our station commentator (Recto (Krislov)) and I talked about the possible results this visit might achieve. Our listeners may still remember that at that time we discussed whether President Bush would promise to promote Taiwan's return to the motherland or not. Now his visit has ended. It is reported that when holding talks with the Chinese leaders, Bush did not make any direct (?decision) on the appeal made by China to the United States for helping solve the Taiwan issue. (Recto), what is your point of view?

[(Krislov)] To be frank, I [word indistinct] believe the U.S. President has his own view on this question.

[Announcer] Why do you think so?

[(Krislov)] Currently, Bush has already been regarded as [word indistinct] of the China issue. In the middle of the 1970's, Bush was appointed director of the U.S. Liaison Office in China and had contacts with the Chinese leaders.

[Announcer] In 1980, Reagan, a U.S. presidential candidate, visited China with Bush to promote better relations between Washington and Beijing. Relations between the United States and China worsened because Reagan adopted a flagrant pro-Taiwan stand in his campaign. In May 1982, Bush, as U.S. vice president, once again visited Beijing. At that time Sino-U.S. relations were acute because the United States continued supplying Taiwan with weapons.

[(Krislov)] I think that was Bush's political [words indistinct]. In the Sino-U.S. Joint Statement, the United States promised to [words indistinct] the supply of weapons to Taiwan.

[Announcer] Later, the United States signed another joint statement on its refusal to sell F-16 and F-20 fighter planes to Taipei.

[(Krislov)] However, since the [word indistinct], military cooperation between the United States and Taiwan has ended.

[Announcer] Yes. The United States annually reduced arms sales to Taiwan by $20 million. But such a trade volume is still considerable today. Last year the United States sold weapons to Taiwan to the tune of $750 million. In addition, using U.S. licenses and relying on U.S. experts' help, Taiwan is engaging in the production of modern warplanes, munitions, and other military technologies and weapons. U.S. businessmen are more interested in Taiwan than the Chinese mainland. Last year, U.S.-Chinese trade volume was about $14 billion, while U.S.-Taiwan trade volume exceeded $36 billion.

[(Krislov)] I believe that in its relations with Taiwan, the United States still pays attention to its political, economic and [word indistinct] and is not quite willing to solve the Taiwan issue. While Bush came to Beijing to talk about how the United States respected the principles listed in the three joint statements, how he would implement the one-China policy, he reached the goal [words indistinct].

Tower's Prospects for Senate Confirmation Viewed

PM2802131189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch: "John Tower Gives His Word"]

[Text] New York—John Tower, President Bush's defense secretary-designate, who has still not been ratified by the Senate, has resorted to an extremely unusual step. Speaking on an ABC-TV program Sunday, Tower read out what he called his "solemn promise."

He promised that if Congress approved his nomination he would never touch liquor nor even beer during his term of office as Pentagon leader. If I do not keep my word, Tower added, I will be forced to resign. But, he stressed, I am well known as someone who never breaks his promises.

He had one aim in taking this surprising step—to improve his chances of ratification by the Senate when it meets in full session. The result of the vote is important both for the secretary himself and for the prestige of President G. Bush. Last week, as is well known, the Senate Armed Services Committee advocated recommending that the full session of the Senate reject Tower's nomination. The reasons given by the committee members for their doubts were, in particular, the reference to Tower's previous predilection for alcohol. Democrat committee members were not satisfied by Tower's assertions that this fondness is indeed a thing of the past.

Now comes something akin to an oath. Will it work? It is hard to say. There are already signs that the oath has only angered Democrats on Capitol Hill. They see it as an extreme attempt to pressure Democratic senators. Without the support of at least five Democrats, Tower will not get past the Senate, where the opposition party holds the majority—55 against 45 Republicans.

By all accounts this week will be decisive. The leaders of the Democratic majority and the Republican minority in the Senate meet Monday to think over Tower's promise. The same day in specially equipped rooms in Congress, senators will start familiarizing themselves with the full text of the FBI report, which has collected the fullest possible information on Tower—above all, on his habits and inclinations. Although the report is secret, the White House—as can be judged from identical articles in the U.S. press—is starting to leak the parts of the document that are most favorable to Tower and the administration.

Judging by these extracts—which appeared, in particular, in Sunday's THE NEW YORK TIMES—the allegations that the secretary is a drinker and a womanizer are primarily based on gossip and rumor that are easily refuted by simple reference to the facts. In particular, on the day when—according to one "witness" interviewed by FBI agents—Tower visited a hotel restaurant in Washington in a state of inebriation, he was actually on a trip to Pakistan. The understanding is that there are many such examples.

But the White House-organized "leaks" have had a frosty reception from Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee. It was his efforts and prestige that probably brought about the downfall of Tower's nomination at the first—but not decisive—stage of the examination process. Nunn has stated that if the "leaks" continue he will hold additional hearings inviting virtually all the witnesses cited in the FBI report to give evidence in Congress. Were such hearings to be held, no one could say how long the defense secretary's ratification could take.

It has not been ruled out that the Senate's deciding vote will be held this week.

Canadian Minister on U.S. Cruise Missile Test

LD2802164989 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Ottawa February 28 TASS—Canadian Defence Minister William McKnight made known on Tuesday that a new American cruise missile using Stealth technology is to undergo its first test in Canada on Wednesday, March 1.

An American B-52 bomber is to take the new-type weapon from the Beaufort Sea down along the MacKenzie River Basin as far as the cold lake in the province of Alberta and back to the base. Flights like this are designed for testing the missile's control system, the minister explained.

***Workings of American Federal System Described**
WA1807051089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by correspondent L. Koryavin (Washington): "American Federalism: Roots and Branches"]

[Text] In the opinion of many Americans, Washington is "not a typical American city." In any case, this is how it is frequently described. The Frenchman L'Enfant drew up the plans for the elliptical blocks, fan-shaped streets, and rectangular areas of greenery, and the result was a European capital. America is more likely to be associated with the California gold prospectors, the daring designs of the first skyscrapers in Chicago, and the technical perfection of the Brooklyn Bridge.

The "French" blueprint for Washington, however, bears the imprint of American history. Its pages can be seen in the Lincoln and Jefferson memorials and the rotunda of the National Archives building with the original Declaration of Independence, Bill of Rights, and Constitution of the United States. The main thing about Washington, however, is that it is a symbol of American government. To any person who comes here from the West Coast or from sultry Florida, Washington is primarily the Congress, the President, and the judiciary.

It is the origin of all of the boldest initiatives, major projects, billion-dollar contracts, an abundance of political problems and, in particular, the fine points of law. It is in Washington that these are added to the mixture of constitutional provisions, acquire the form of law under the Capitol dome, or receive their final verdict in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Washington, after all, is the center of the federal government, a strong government with a centralized nature. The federal structure of the United States, or what is known as "dualistic federalism," is based on the principle of the division of powers and functions between the central or union government and the state governments. The states have a constitutional legal status. Their autonomy cannot be minimized. Furthermore, the states perform many functions and thereby relieve the central government of some secondary concerns that might distract it from its main national functions. This is particularly evident in the sphere of economics and business. The states are called "small presidential republics," but these "republics" cannot be described as independent.

No matter how federalism is balanced on the constitutional scales, they are always tipped in favor of the central government. The intensification of this process was particularly apparent in the last years of the Reagan administration. Whereas previously, particularly under Nixon, several programs were proposed under the slogan of the "New Federalism," in the last 8 years there has been a significant concentration of the central government's power. The "New Federalism," which envisaged broader powers for the states and the transfer of part of federal income to them, was regarded as one of Nixon's political maneuvers: He had to win support on the local level.

The situation under Reagan was quite paradoxical. He was able to earn sizable political dividends in many states while power was being concentrated in the hands of the Washington Administration. According to political analysts, the economic factors of Reagan's policy encouraged the initiative of the "average American" and of large production associations. They exist in almost every state. Another positive factor was the overall state of the economy in recent years, when the rate of inflation and unemployment declined and production factors were stabilized. Besides this, during the concluding stage the President's personal prestige also played a role, especially when he took realistic steps in the politico-military sphere.

How is the judicial strength of the federal government in the United States manifested in concrete forms? Above all, in the constitutional powers of the administration—or, more precisely, of the President. He is responsible for guaranteeing the republican form of state government. The obligations of the federal government to the states consist of defending their territory against foreign invasion and against "internal disorder," although the latter formally requires a request for this protection from state authorities.

The territory of the United States has not been subjected to outside aggression in our century or the last century, but the states do have internal problems requiring intervention by the central authorities. Regular army units have been used four times in the last 20 years to quell unrest, and this does not include the National Guard. In this case the number is much higher—over 200 times. The president has the most extensive powers in this area. The decision to use the federal armed forces is his prerogative, and not the prerogative of Congress. It is not subject to judicial review. This right cannot be limited or restricted even by the Supreme Court, which is empowered to review constitutional standards. The president is empowered not only to use regular troops, but also the national guard of any state by ordering a governor to transfer these forces, for instance, from Nebraska to Alabama or vice versa.

The main postulate for the state is that it must not violate the federal Constitution and it must execute federal laws resolutely. The oath of allegiance to the

central government is something like a symbol of this. It is as compulsory and as solemn as the oath the president and vice president take on the Bible on Inauguration Day.

The oath to observe and protect the Constitution of the United States and, consequently, to submit to federal authority is taken by all of the "powerful people" in a state, including the governor. This is a special entity in the American structure of government. Governors are called "mini-presidents." Within the states their position is usually above that of the local legislative branch. The governor is not its chief administrator, but the political leader who "makes the laws."

The federal government has many levers of pressure on state governments, from direct "intervention" in their prerogatives to the distribution of financial appropriations. Many states need these because they are not capable of carrying out their programs of economic and social development autonomously. The so-called "special grants" are awarded with the stipulation of several strict conditions. Furthermore, the use of the funds is under direct federal control. The allocation of funds depends on the federal Congress. It has the first and last word in these matters. In plain terms, it decides whether or not the funds should be awarded.

Each state has its own system of laws, but they do not constitute separate or independent legislation from the judicial standpoint. A person who commits a murder in one state and then moves to another to escape prosecution exists only in the movies. He will be apprehended, extradited, and then tried in the place where the crime was committed. The same is true of the person who tries to evade the payment of financial penalties or taxes. If, for example, a Florida court imposes a fine on Mr Smith and he then goes into hiding in the state of Nebraska, the Nebraska authorities must carry out the decision of the Florida court.

Local laws are part of the federal legal system. The judicial verdicts or legal proceedings of one state must be upheld on the territory of all others. It is true that there are some exceptions in the case of crimes for which people cannot be tried in another state. This is when the extradition procedure is used, and it generally works without any difficulty. Divorce proceedings are the most variable part of the law code. In some states they are extremely complex, and in others the proceedings are quite simple. It is difficult to get a divorce, for example, in Maryland, but it is easy in Las Vegas, Nevada. This is why Americans joke that more people go to Las Vegas to get a divorce than to gamble.

Of course, the tendency toward the autonomy of states has always been present in the machinery of American government, but it has never been the dominant tendency. Of course, weaker central guardianship is convenient for some states, while integration in the federal system is absolutely essential for others. But the main thing is that not one of the American states has ever tried to break the chain of the historical interdependence of the entire system of American federalism. The tendency toward unification has been stronger than separatist feelings. Incidentally, this is one of the reasons for the inability of the "New Federalism" to put down deep roots.

For a long time it was the common opinion that there were no ethnic problems in the United States, where 60 percent of the families began with mixed marriages, and that a single American nationality had taken shape within the American federal framework. Serious problems have existed and do exist, however, and the persistent racism is only one of them. Conflicts between "white America" and various ethnic groups have been noticeable in recent years.

I was in Florida and California recently. Emigrants from Latin America and Central America and from the Southeast Asian countries have increased the population of these states considerably in the last decade. The people I spoke with in Florida were frankly worried that the Hispanic population would soon outnumber the "white Americans" in the state. The ethnic majority and minority are changing places. This situation has already led to open conflict in the state. Furthermore, some people in Florida are inclined to view the influx of Hispanic emigrants as "demographic aggression." There are "refugees"—members of the Jewish community in Miami Beach who are escaping the wave of terror in the city.

The federal government's approach to situations of this kind varies. It is prepared to play the role of an intermediary or coordinator, and of a peacemaker if necessary. When the process of desegregation caused serious unrest in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Alabama, for example, Presidents D. Eisenhower and J. Kennedy sent troops to those states. But this is done only in extraordinary cases. Usually the central government prefers that local conflicts be resolved within the framework of the states themselves.

Finally, another branch of federalism is local self-government. The states are divided into territorial administrative districts, or counties, as they are called here. There are over 3,000 of them in the United States. We will take a look at one of them—Fairfax County (Virginia), near the suburbs of Washington.

Fairfax County is governed by a board of nine supervisors, eight of whom are elected in each separate district. The chairman is elected by the population of the entire county by direct ballot. The board serves a 4-year term. The chairman is the head of the executive branch, but he is not a "mini-president." He has no powers independent of the board. He also has no right, in contrast to the federal president or state governor, to veto local laws.

The board's prerogatives include the county budget, local taxes, and administrative appointments. The county budget revenues consist of grants from the state of Virginia and the federal government and, above all, of local taxes. The expenditure items include the maintenance of administrative bodies, public works, public health care, and public services.

Federalism put down roots in America long ago. It was the result of the Constitution of 1787—the first written constitution in human history. Some of its branches are outdated but others are still vital. Federalism in the United States has always been able to adapt to changing conditions, and they change rapidly. People in America have good reason to say that no human or electronic brain can fathom the entire system of American legislation.

China

PRC Geodesic Delegation Head Discusses Visit

OW2702232189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0300 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] We have already reported that the Chinese State Bureau of Surveying and Cartography left Moscow for Beijing. The Chinese delegation visited the Soviet Union for 2 days at the invitation of the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography under the USSR Council of Ministers. Our station reporter took part in the meeting between the geodesic delegations of the two countries. He reports:

On the day the Chinese delegation left Moscow, the Soviet and Chinese geodesic delegations ended their talks on further developing cooperation. The meeting resulted in signing a memorandum. Included in the memorandum were specific plans for the orientation for cooperation in 12 areas. After the signing of the document, Chen Junyong, head of the Chinese State Bureau of Surveying and Cartography delegation and director of the Chinese State Bureau of Surveying and Cartography courteously agreed to answer a series of questions. He first talked about the purpose of the Chinese delegation's visit to our country.

[Begin Chen Junyong recording] In April [words indistinct] the Soviet geodesic delegation visited our country, which laid good groundwork for the cooperation and exchanges between the geodesic departments of our two countries. The purpose of the Chinese State Bureau of Surveying and Cartography delegation is to have a firsthand look at the great achievements of the Soviet Union in geodesic work, study the rich and precious experience of the Soviet geodesic departments, and discuss and formulate with Soviet comrades on cooperative steps between the two geodesic departments for the next 2 years. [end recording]

Our station reporter asked the head of the Chinese delegation about his visit to the Soviet Union.

[Begin Chen Junyong recording] We were warmly received by the the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography and other relevant units during our visit to the Soviet Union. We gained further understanding of the Soviet geodesic work through our visit. There is a lot we can learn from the Soviet side, be it in technique or management of geodesic work. We reached a complete consensus with Soviet comrades on many problems; that is, we will continue cooperation with them based on equality and mutual interest; we will cooperate out of mutual need and on the condition that there is a possibility for cooperation. Both sides will learn from the other to make up for deficiencies. We can now begin the process of cooperation. We should do what we can do right now. We should, at the same time, actively explore ways for broader cooperation. [end recording]

Afterward, I asked Yashchenko, chief of the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography under the USSR Council of Ministers, to talk about the results of the meeting between the Soviet and Chinese geodesic workers in Moscow.

He said: We set a direction for cooperation among the Soviet Union, China, and third countries. We plan to jointly publish a book in Khabarovsk based on pictures of the border areas taken from space. This has something to do with the increase in the number of tourists traveling between Khabarovsk and the Province of Heilongjiang. [as heard] The Chinese delegation came to understand our experience in making use of pictures taken from space to serve the interests of the national economy. Last year, the Chinese side bought from the Soviet Union some 60,000 United States dollars worth of pictures of Chinese territory taken from space. I want to point out that the technical level of China's printing, particularly in the area of offset printing, is vastly superior to ours. Therefore, we discussed with the Chinese the possibility of carrying out exchanges of mutual interest on a nonforeign currency basis. We also used pictures taken from space to exchange printing presses with China. I think we will not only work on the territory of the Soviet Union, or of China, but also jointly complete the work of geodetic survey in third countries in the future.

Let's hope that the Soviet and Chinese geodetic workers will smoothly cooperate in the future.

Chen Junyong, head of the Chinese delegation, said: [begin recording] We are convinced that with the normalization of relations between the two countries, the prospects for cooperation between the surveying and cartography departments will become very bright. [end recording]

PRC Construction Workers Begin USSR Project

PM2802162589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Mutually Advantageous Cooperation"]

[Text] On 24 February, 40 PRC specialists began their first working day on the construction of TETS-3 [Thermal Electric Power Station No 3].

The group of workers from the neighboring country have come to the construction project under a contract between "Severovostokenergostroy" and the Heilongjiang company for international economic and technical cooperation.

Under the terms of the agreement, 1,000 Chinese workers with a variety of specialized construction skills will work at Komsomolsk-na-Amure projects this year.

Lessons of PRC Farm Reforms Viewed

PM2802164589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Second Edition p 7

[Political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov article: "Leasing Chinese-Style"]

[Text] When thinking about the future of our agriculture, it is useful to glance at other socialist countries' experience in tackling the agrarian problem since, despite the diversity of specific conditions, it is possible to learn a great deal from their successes and draw valuable lessons from their difficulties and failures. This fully applies also to China.

After all, the policy of reforms there gained its first impressive victories specifically in the countryside. It showed that returning to the peasant the feeling that he is the master means releasing tremendous energy capable of stirring up the economy of the country as a whole and pulling it out of stagnation. However, China's example also indicates that the family contract is not a panacea in itself, that its positive potential is by no means unlimited, and that at a certain stage agricultural workers cannot manage without joint efforts, without different forms of collective labor.

The switch to the family contract, or rather leasing of plots of land over several years (the terms of the lease have been extended to 15 years, and 50 years in some places) led to a sharp rise in the peasants' labor productivity. Over 6 years (1979-1984) the annual grain harvests in China increased by one-third, or, in round figures, from 300 to 400 million tonnes. This spurt was of truly historic significance. For many centuries China did not manage to produce more than 300 kg of grain per capita. Raising this indicator to 400 kg meant that people were being fed, meant that every worker was able to feel the real fruits of the reforms. Overall, peasants' incomes have trebled over the last decade, and in the vicinity of large cities and near the coast they have increased even further. The number of destitute people, that is, people with an annual income of less than 200 yuan, has decreased from 40 to 15 percent of the rural population.

For 4 years now China's grain production has been stagnating. And this is causing alarm in connection with the difficulties currently confronting the Chinese economy. In 1988 a total of 394 million tonnes of grain were harvested, but 16 million tonnes had to be imported from abroad. Even a 2-percent growth rate, that is, an annual increase in yield of 8 million tonnes, proved an insurmountable task. Yet China's population increased by 15 million last year alone, and by the year 2000, judging by appearances, it will top 1,250 million. Even at the current level of consumption (400 kg per person), the country will need more than 500 million tonnes of grain!

Why have the grain yields, after 6 years of rapid growth, remained below the 1984 level for 4 years in succession? There are many reasons for this, both objective and subjective. The new system of management—the switch to leasing over several years—served as a material incentive for peasants, triggering an upsurge in their production activity. However, the spurt that was achieved was based on the intensification of manual labor. The family contract made it possible to exploit reserves located on the surface, but it could not resolve all the problems connected with the modernization of the Chinese countryside.

The first years of the reforms were marked by a growth of agricultural production along the whole front. However, in time the peasants' gravitation toward more profitable sectors than grain growing became increasingly apparent. As an incentive to farmers, the government raised the purchasing prices for rice and wheat. However the effectiveness of these measures was soon nullified. As soon as the urban enterprises were given greater independence, the prices of industrial goods crept up. Goods urgently needed in the countryside—fertilizers, pesticides, pumps, and greenhouse sheeting—became so expensive that it again became unprofitable to grow grain.

Small-scale farming reacts very sensitively to the market situation. Meanwhile, the authorities' attempts to influence this situation have not always been successful. For instance, after the big harvest of 1984, feed prices fell considerably. This was soon reflected in an abundance of pork, poultry, and eggs in urban markets. The government hastened to remove the allowances granted to peasants growing marketable livestock and poultry. However, subsequently feeds became more expensive again and the livestock population fell sharply. As a result, coupons for pork and eggs (and also sugar) had to be reintroduced in large cities, and as from last spring it also became necessary to raise state prices for scheduled goods by 30-60 percent.

As a result, the Chinese press has noted with alarm a deterioration in the living standards of a considerable section of the urban population. The rate of inflation topped 18 percent in 1988. This is the highest level since the proclamation of the PRC. People on fixed incomes have been hit hard by this increase.

On the other hand, the greater the devaluation of money (and in recent years the increase in money supply in China has been double the increase in GNP), the less keen the peasants are to expand the production of marketable output. Furthermore, another characteristic trend has emerged. As soon as the annual per capita income of rural dwellers tops 800 yuan, their labor output decreases appreciably. The hope that the peasants' increased prosperity would prompt them to invest more money in increasing soil fertility and to switch to more effective farming methods have not been vindicated. Instead, those who have managed to rise above poverty have shown a pronounced tendency to spend their money. The new peasants of average means are buying washing machines, television sets, and motorcycles. Whole villages are being rebuilt. Instead of the mud houses with thatched roofs, you see high-grade brick houses under tiled roofs. In the Chinese countryside housing per person now totals 17 square meters against 5 square meters in cities. While the peasants' living standards are rising, their marketable output is decreasing.

In short, the powerful impetus imparted to the Chinese countryside by the switch to the family contract and the system of leasing over several years is beginning to peter out. In order to achieve another spurt and raise grain production from 400 to 500 million tonnes, a broad application of the achievements of science and technology is needed rather than labor intensification. At the same time, small-scale production, where the unit of economic activity is the peasant holding, is not always conducive to the introduction of progressive agricultural techniques, let alone the mechanization of farming operations.

Therefore, in order to pull agriculture, and especially its key sector, grain production, out of stagnation, Beijing has decided to act simultaneously in several directions. First, state capital investments in agriculture, which have been kept unjustifiably low in recent decades, are to be increased by 68 percent in 1989. This is essential in order to overhaul major irrigation installations left virtually unattended since the beginning of the reforms. The point is that in Chinese conditions the cooperative movement in agriculture was not accompanied by mechanization. It produced its economic effect above all through more rational land use. When in the fifties boundaries were removed, it became possible to lay out the terraced fields strictly in accordance with the outline of the terrain and to create a ramified system of water reservoirs and irrigation canals. At the time, this produced a big increase in yields. However, after the peasant's entire attention had been focused on his leased plot of land, irrigation installations were allowed to fall into disrepair.

Second, a package of measures has been drawn up, commonly referred to as the "green revolution." Centers for the dissemination of agrotechnical knowledge are being set up at district administrations. By the end of the current 5-year plan there will be more than 500 such centers. Wherever the level of literacy is still low, local radio broadcasting is being used extensively. Peasants are taught to increase soil fertility, not to abuse chemical fertilizers, and to cultivate high-yield varieties of agricultural crops correctly. Some 100 districts have been declared specialized zones of commercial grain production. At two-thirds of them, intensive techniques for the cultivation of wheat will be introduced while the others will specialize in rice growing. The first wholesale grain markets are to be set up in the same districts.

In China (mainly on the vast tracts of land in the northeast of the country) there are still some 2,000 state farms. During the years of the reforms the team contract and leasing have been introduced there. The large-scale character of production is not being questioned there because it is conducive to high-level mechanization. In addition to the state farms there are more than 500,000 various types of cooperative associations in the Chinese countryside. In some of these income is being distributed both according to labor and according to shares. Sometimes the cooperatives are a combination of the family and the collective contract. Whatever a family can do on its own, it continues to do on its own. However, the overhaul and construction of irrigation installations, acquisition and use of tractors, and large-scale commodity production under state contracts is done more easily and advantageously by joint effort.

Another trend has also emerged. In some places the scale of land use is increasing as a section of the peasant population switches to nonagricultural production. So-called settlement enterprises now produce 20 percent of China's industrial output and 14 percent of its exports. Rural workers produce 50 percent of construction materials, one-third of clothing and footwear, and one-fifth of textiles. Some 90 million rural dwellers are employed in local industry. Their number increases each year by 7 million people.

Those who switch to local industries are allowed to hand over their plot of land, leased for several years, to people in the same village for a specified proportion of the income. It is hoped that this will make it possible to gradually concentrate the arable land in the hands of the most skilled peasants capable of producing marketable produce. The others are expected to "quit agriculture without leaving the countryside."

Which path will prove the best for the Chinese countryside—a return to joint labor on the basis of voluntary "cooperative association from below," the creation of large-scale farms, or the combination of the family and collective contracts? The debate on this topic continues

in China. One thing is unquestionable, however—namely, that the potential of the peasant holding as an economic unit has been largely exhausted.

Northeast Asia

Lukyanov's Talks With Japanese Leaders Viewed

OW0103001589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] As it has already been announced, Soviet delegation members who were in Japan to attend a state funeral for late Emperor Showa held a series of talks with leading Japanese Government officials and politicians. In connection with this, Moscow Radio commentator Dmitriyev has the following to say:

Top-ranking officials from 163 foreign countries assembled in Japan, and this is unprecedented. Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Presidum of the Supreme Soviet, and his attendants were among the officials. Prime Minister Takeshita held talks with First Deputy Chairman Lukyanov on 22 February. These were the first talks between a representative of the Soviet leadership and the Japanese leader since the foreign ministerial talks were held between Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Japanese Foreign Minister Uno last December. The foreign ministerial talks were held in a positive atmosphere.

We hope that this atmosphere will continue in future political dialogue between the two countries. This expectation is based on the fact that, as the Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman said, the Lukyanov-Takeshita talks were held in a friendly atmosphere. This atmosphere is believed to have been created since Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Japan last December. Specifically speaking, the Soviet Union and Japan, as demonstrated at the Lukyanov-Takeshita talks and the foreign ministerial talks last December, intend to deepen their mutual understanding. For example, at their talks with First Deputy Chairman Lukyanov, Prime Minister Takeshita and LDP Secretary General Abe said that difficult issues should be resolved through negotiations. In addition, both sides at the talks agreed on the point that the political dialogue would be continued and expanded to produce tangible results.

The foreign ministerial talks and other talks made substantive progress. For example, both sides at the foreign ministerial talks decided to set up a working group at vice foreign ministerial level to negotiate all issues related to the conclusion of a peace treaty. At the consultations between Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev and Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister Kuriyama, both sides agreed to hold a meeting of the working group toward the end of March. Referring to this meeting, Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev, who was accompanying First Deputy Chairman Lukyanov, said that political, economic, geographical, and other issues should be discussed at the upcoming meeting. On the other hand, the Japanese side expressed its readiness to pay attention to themes the Soviet side plans to take up in the framework of negotiations on the peace treaty. This approach deserves to be welcomed because readiness to understand the position of the other side is an indispensible condition for the success of various negotiations. The Soviet Union sincerely hopes for the success of negotiations.

At the talks with Prime Minister Takeshita, First Deputy Chairman Lukyanov reconfirmed the Soviet policy aimed at developing friendly relations and full cooperation with Japan on the basis of the principle of reciprocity. At the talks, an issue involving General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan was discussed. For example, House of Representatives Chairman Hara, at his meeting with First Deputy Chairman Lukyanov, said that all Japanese people hoped for General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan. In response, First Deputy Chairman Lukyanov said the Soviet people thought that General Secretary Gorbachev's visit to Japan should be made in the trend of improving Soviet-Japanese relations. In other words, the two countries must make efforts to improve their relations before the Soviet-Japanese summit if they want to bring about tangible results at the summit.

We can expect such a change only under the condition that all Soviet-Japanese relations are not tied to a single issue, the source of differences between the two countries. To our regret, however, judging from reports on the latest talks in Tokyo, the Japanese leadership still sticks to its stance of linking progress in various exchanges to the territorial issue. However, the times call for a more flexible stance. It is widely acknowledged that Soviet-Japanese relations are lagging behind the positive changes of worldwide detente.

At the talks with First Deputy Chairman Lukyanov, Prime Minister Takeshita admitted that the Soviet policy had a favourable impact on East-West relations and expressed his satisfaction with the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. The prime minister also expressed his hope that the Soviet-Chinese summit scheduled for May would contribute to the stability of the Asian situation. In this sense, the progress in Soviet-Japanese relations can undoubtedly contribute to the further promotion of detente, which is of benefit to the entire international society.

Takeshita Comments on World War II Criticized

Japan's Peaceableness Doubted

PM2402125389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS political observer A. Biryukov article for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Not To Be Committed to Oblivion. Statement by the Japanese Prime Minister"]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Naboru Takeshita, answering questions in parliament recently about World

War II, which was unleashed by the "Axis" powers, tried to avoid giving a clear-cut answer to whether this was a war of aggression on the part of Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan. And what is more, he cast doubt on the soundness of the definition of "aggression" given by the United Nations, declaring that he does not regard it as necessarily final." [no opening quotation marks as published] It was indeed a very sad event, the prime minister said, but my viewpoint as to the definition of the war as a war of aggression is that this is a very complex question.

These remarks by the head of the Japanese Government create a strange impression, TASS political observer A. Biryukov writes specially for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Strange because the aggressive wars which the "Axis" powers unleashed against mankind are a historical fact. And the assessment made of this fact by the United Nations is documented in the materials of the international tribunals in both Nuremberg and Tokyo, which were guided in the execution of justice by the principles of international law endorsed in the UN General Assembly Resolution of 11 December 1946. The International Military Tribunal for the Far East, for instance, tried the main Japanese war criminals for crimes against peace, a term which was taken to mean specifically "the planning, preparation, and unleashing or conduct of an aggressive war."

This cannot, and indeed must not, be forgotten because it is necessary to learn lessons for the future even from tragic experience. It is for this reason that Japanese leaders' attempts to commit historical facts to oblivion and to distort assessments that have been made of them cannot fail to raise questions. It is no accident that attempts of this kind always evoke indignation in countries which suffered under the Japanese aggressors. And so, on this occasion, too, Takeshita's remarks caused a storm of indignation in China, the north and the south of the Korean Peninsula, and other countries. The well-known Chinese historian Liu Danian, speaking at a session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, pointed out that "most Japanese and world historians clearly defined it (Japan's aggressive war) long ago. It is incomprehensible why the solution of this abundantly clear question should be deferred."

The Japanese ruling circles' attempts to alter the assessment made of historical facts by the international community calls into question their ability to draw lessons from the past. They also cast a shadow of doubt on the sincerity of their professions of commitment to a policy of peace.

Increased Military Spending Noted

OW2702070589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita recently made remarks on Japan's role in World War II. In this connection, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev writes as follows:

Prime Minister Takeshita stated in the Diet that it should be left for future historians to judge whether the war started by Japan could be considered aggression, thus questioning the aggressive nature of the war. This cannot but be taken as a new attempt to prove the innocence of the Japanese military in regard to its crimes in World War II.

Of all occasions, Prime Minister Takeshita has chosen the time when high-ranking officials of various countries in the world will gather in Japan to attend the state funeral service for the late emperor to make such remarks. Apparently, it has undermined his reputation as a statesman capable of handling international issues with caution.

Based on various records and the principle of international law, the international community represented by the UN, as well as most historians of many countries in the world, including Japan, have long described Japan's actions as aggression. Moreover, the war's aggressiveness is quite obvious judging merely from the fact that millions of the people of Asian nations were deprived of their lives.

In this connection, it is only natural that Prime Minister Takeshita's remarks in which these facts are ignored have aroused anger among Japan's neighboring nations. The Chinese paper, RENMIN RIBAO, wrote that it was an unforgivable attempt to evade the responsibilities for the war, and another paper, ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, termed Takeshita's remarks an attempt to distort history. Meanwhile, various South Korean papers point out that his remarks indicate that the Japanese Government has no intention of admitting Japan's aggression during World War II. In Western Europe, severe criticism from Italian papers has aroused attention. The Soviet TASS News Agency stresses that an attempt to forget historical facts cannot help but arouse protests.

All the indignation caused by Takeshita's remarks indicate that even time or Japan's great economic power cannot erase from the people's minds what Japan's aggression caused.

The Japanese Government's position on its own history will long serve as one criterion for judging the nation. Former Prime Minister Nakasone, who understands this truth, has clearly stated that Japan was engaged in aggression during World War II.

Based on this, Prime Minister Takeshita is now trying to hastily correct the mistake of his improper Diet remarks and state that the Japanese Government has not changed its position and that Japan's actions caused serious disasters for its neighboring nations.

Nevertheless, can all the issues be settled? In its Constitution, Japan has rejected military force and weapons. However, Japan has now become third among the nations of the world in military spending. Under such

circumstances, it is only natural that Takeshita's remarks have raised a question in international public opinion as to whether the Japanese leadership has actually learned a lesson from its own history of troubles.

ROK Trade Official Receives Soviet Message

SK2102023789 Seoul YONHAP in English 0232 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Seoul, Feb. 21 (YONHAP)—A previously unknown Soviet economic organization has invited the chairman of Korea's Foreign Trade Association (KFTA), a KFTA official said Tuesday.

The invitation came in a telegram signed by Y. Akhremenko, executive secretary of the Soviet National Committee for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, said the official, who declined to be identified.

KFTA chairman Nam Tok-u received the cable last Friday.

Nam's status as a former prime minister and a member of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (PECC), could be linked to the invitation, he speculated.

The Soviet observer on PECC is Yevgeniy Primakov, chairman of the committee that sent the invitation.

KFTA has no information on the economic organization, but thinks it is newly-established to promote Siberia development projects.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

KPRP Politburo Views Jakarta Talks on Cambodia

LD2802184389 Moscow TASS in English 1615 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Phnom Penh February 28 TASS—The Politburo of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea [KPRP] held a meeting here. It examined the results of the 2nd informal meeting on Kampuchea in Jakarta. The Politburo pointed out that it was a new step in a search for a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. It confirmed that the key points of a settlement are the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and prevention of the Pol Pot regime of genocide from restoring its power, an end of the military aid to the Khmer opposition sides and foreign interference in Kampuchea's domestic [words indistinct] guarantee to prevent a civil war in the country after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops.

The Politburo favoured the principled approach, according to which Kampuchea's domestic affairs must be settled by the Kampuchean sides. For the earliest political solution, it is necessary to continue the talks between the Khmer groups and further cooperation between countries in the region to achieve identity of (?views). The Politburo pointed out that Kampuchea is ready to participate in a meeting with other Kampuchean sides in any place and at any time.

Foreign Trade Official Views Philippine Ties

HK2002125989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Interview with Yevgeniy Perventzev, department head of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, by unidentified announcer; date, place of interview not given—live or recorded; Perventzev in Russian with superimposed Tagalog translation]

[Text] [Announcer] Mr Perventzev, what was the purpose of your visit to the Philippines?

[Perventzev] The delegation from the Supreme Soviet went to the Philippines on a return official visit. It will be recalled that a delegation from the Philippine Congress, headed by Senate President Pro Tempore Senator Mercado visited the Soviet Union last July. In my opinion, such parliamentary exchanges help our peoples to know each other better. This provides an opportunity for us to exchange information about our countries, as well as to learn about political issues in our respective countries. There is no doubt that such visits provide practical contributions to the development of bilateral ties.

[Announcer] During your visit, you met various Philippine leaders. What matters did you discuss with them?

[Perventzev] Yes, we had meetings with various Philippine leaders. We met with President Aquino; Vice President Salvador Laurel; Cardinal Sin, head of the Catholic Church; Senate President Salonga; House of Representatives Speaker Mitra; and many others. We also attended sessions of the Senate and Parliament [as heard], and we met many senators and congressmen. All our meetings were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

We also exchanged views about world issues. There was much interest in new developments in the Soviet Union, in the process of democratization of our society, as well as in our political reforms, our new administrative policies, and the growing role of our councils which are working to solve the problems we face.

During our talks, we paid close attention to the subject of the establishment of bilateral relations. The Philippine leaders expressed interest in broadening avenues of trade and commerce with the Soviet Union.

[Announcer] As a specialist in foreign trade, can you give us a brief summary of economic and commercial cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Philippines?

[Perventzev] Economic and commercial cooperation has long existed between the two countries. We traded with the Philippines even before diplomatic relations were established. I would like to emphasize that trade relations between our two countries have continued to improve. However, on certain levels, trade is very active and not so on other levels.

I believe that in recent years our cooperation has entered a new phase. We are looking for other, more varied ways in which to cooperate. The Philippine side is working actively on this score. Filipino businessmen are proposing joint ventures in various aspects of industry and in the service fields. In this connection, Soviet and Filipino experts have been exploring avenues in which joint ventures may be successfully implemented. For example, last year the Soviet minister for foreign economic relations met with a delegation of Filipino congressmen. During their meeting, they talked about expanding trade relations and discussed a proposal to apply Soviet technology in the construction of a power project in the Philippines because the Philippines has problems in this area. The issue of setting up water-powered facilities was also discussed. However up to the present, we have still not been able to come up with practical answers to this issue.

Naturally, during our visit in the Philippines, we held talks on ways to promote economic and commercial cooperation. We met with Philippine Trade and Industry Secretary Concepcion and on behalf of Mr Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations, extended an invitation for him to visit Moscow to hold talks on issues of interest to both our countries. The invitation was gratefully accepted, and Mr Concepcion will visit the Soviet Union in early March. He expressed the wish to start his trip from the Far East. He plans to visit Khabarovsk and some towns in Siberia, as well as Leningrad. Then he will meet our minister in Moscow.

I do not think that this itinerary is a sheer coincidence. This corresponds with the idea of setting up a free trade zone in the Soviet Far East, as was expounded by Mikhail Gorbachev when he visited Krasnoyarsk in September last year. The Philippines has expressed great interest in this Soviet initiative— first, because the Soviet Far East is closer to the Philippines than are the other regions of the USSR; second, because the prospects for selling Philippine agricultural products in this region are good, as well as the possibility of setting up joint ventures to process fruits and vegetables. Plans are being studied to set up light industries in cooperation with the Ministry of Light Industry and with the Russian Federation's Ministry of Local Industry. The visit of the Philippine trade and industry secretary will provide him with the opportunity to discuss and study various matters relating to such projects. Perhaps this could lead to the signing of some agreements.

[Announcer] What types of products will be involved in joint Soviet-Philippine ventures?

[Perventzev] In September last year, a delegation of economists and experts from the Russian Federation of the Supreme Soviet went to the Philippines and met with senators, congressmen, and businessmen. They talked of ways and means to set up joint ventures. One possibility being studied by the Ministry of Light Industry of the Russian Federation is to set up in the Soviet Union a clothing factory as well as a leather manufacturing plant. It was proposed that Filipino firms will provide some of the technologies for these projects. Talks are now being held with the Filipinos and all organizational problems will be resolved in the near future. Thanks to the efforts of both sides, it is hoped that the agreements on the construction of these factories will be signed this year and the projects will be implemented.

The second most realistic and successful project of our cooperation is between Filipino companies and our industrial-agricultural complex in the Far East. The project includes plans to set up a factory in the Philippines to process fruit and vegetables to be sold in the Soviet Union. Two Filipino companies have already offered their services and are at present discussing this venture. The third field of cooperation involves the production of musical instruments, such as organs and acoustical instruments, in the Soviet Far East. The technology and employees will come from the Soviet side, but materials will come from the Philippines.

[Announcer] It is clear that economic and trade cooperation between our two countries is growing. However, can we return to the question about interparliamentary contacts. What will be the next step?

[Perventzev] There is the official invitation to President Corazon Aquino to visit the Soviet Union. The head of our delegation, Valentina Tereshkova, also gave a verbal invitation to the president. We hope President Aquino will visit the Soviet Union this summer. This will be an important occasion that will cement the friendly relations between our two countries and our two peoples. During our visit, we also proposed that such exchanges should not only be for high government officials but also for parliamentary groups, commissions, and committees. For example, I am a member of the Commission for Industry of the Supreme Soviet. It was very satisfying for me to meet my Filipino counterparts, to attend the Philippine parliamentary sessions. Such exchanges of views and opinions enable us to break down barriers and achieve mutual understanding. We wish to resolve the problems confronting us in our new but complicated world. We discussed world issues with Filipino parliamentarians. We share similar if not very close views on many issues. Our Filipino counterparts were able to understand Soviet initiatives on preventing nuclear war and promoting nuclear disarmament. It is only proper to realize that, like the Filipinos, Soviet people also want to live in peace. The Filipino people are tired of listening to the noises of warships and of war vessels which emanate daily from the American bases in their country.

Economic Pact To Be Signed With Philippines
HK2502060189 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] An agreement on economic and technical cooperation will be signed between the Soviet Union and the Philippines next month. This was revealed by Soviet Ambassador to the Philippines Oleg Sokolov in a speech before the Rotary Club in Baguio City. He added that the agreement will be signed when Philippine Trade and Industry Secretary Jose Concepcion visits Moscow. The secretary will be accompanied by 25 businessmen who are also expected to conclude individual contracts with Soviet partners.

Both the Soviet Union and the Philippines are seeking to expand cooperation in the economic domain. Efforts are being made to increase the annual trade volume from $40 million to $200 million, while technical cooperation is also growing. Several projects were discussed during a visit to the Philippines by a group of Soviet experts last December.

Philippines' Ramos Wants Phaseout of U.S. Bases
HK0103032789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Philippines Secretary of National Defense Fidel Ramos is in favor of the gradual phasing out of the American bases in the Philippines up to the year 1998, when the Philippines celebrates its 100th day of independence. During his speech before students at Santo Tomas University, Ramos declared that ground-based military equipment are losing their strategic importance. Additionally, he said that the Air Force base at Clark Field will become militarily obsolete in the near future. Local observers saw this statement by Ramos as a hint that the dismantling of the base at Clark Field may be started earlier than the proposed deadline.

In a radio talk, President Aquino stressed her government's aim to resolve the issue of the American military bases by considering all the angles and conditions while keeping the Filipino people's best interests in mind.

U.S. Ties Aid to Philippine Bases Issue
HK2502062989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 24 Feb 89

["Commentary" by correspondent Aleksander Gorkin]

[Text] The new U.S. Administration must resolve many questions in its relationship with the Philippines. One of the most complicated issues is the realization of a U.S. promise to sponsor a multilateral aid initiative for the Philippines. Another problem is the continuing presence of the Pentagon in the Philippines.

In spite of President Aquino and other Philippine officials views to the contrary, the two issues are actually interrelated. The signing of a memorandum of agreement between the United States and the Philippines last October showed that Washington had used economic assistance to exert pressure to resolve the bases issue. Talks on the fate of U.S. military facilities in Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base went on for almost 6 months and were accompanied by heated discussions.

According to observers, the arrival of Michael Armacost in Manila was very significant. Armacost explained that the Philippines would not receive aid within the framework of the mini-Marshall Plan if it did not demonstrate cooperation in the miltary domain. The U.S. military bases serve the U.S. Air Force and U.S. Navy which, in turn, form part of the Pentagon's nuclear strategy in the Asia-Pacific region.

However, when the Aquino government came to power, a new constitution was drafted which included anti-nuclear provisions. Later, Philippine senators passed a resolution banning the storage of nuclear weapons in the Philippines. It was for this reason that observers noted the signing of a memorandum which allows the American military leaders to transfer nuclear materials in Philippine ports and airports. This was seen as a compromise with the Philippines pulling back from its original position.

Therefore, Fidel Ramos' speech at Subic Base appeared to be a message to the United States that the memorandum was regarded by Manila's officials as a temporary measure and that the Philippine leadership keeps its own views on the issue. This is very important because the 1947 military bases agreement will expire in September 1991. According to this agreement, the United States has the right to use Philippine territory for military purposes. Will the agreement be renewed?

It is the opinion of observers that this issue will be discussed in talks that will start in the near future. For now, officials in the new Bush administration claimed that the new commander in Washington has no intention of renouncing its nuclear policy, be it in Europe or in the Asia-Pacific region. Hence, it is possible that in the near future, Washington will again ask Manila to accomodate its request and allow the retention of Clark and Subic bases, both of which are essential components of its nuclear policy.

Will there be a new basis for the continued presence of the Pentagon in the Philippines? When Michael Armacost visited Manila recently, he stated that the U.S. bases are necessary in order to counter the growing Soviet influence in the Asia-Pacific region. Actually, this so-called Soviet military threat is just an excuse to gather the Asians under the nuclear umbrella of the United States. However, Soviet commitment to reduce its armed forces in Asia, non-installation of new nuclear weapons in the area, and other peace initiatives outlined

by Mikhail Gorbachev show that the justifications given by the United States are not credible. Positive changes in the world arena related to the foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union have created conditions for rethinking and reassessing political priorities and values. Under the new conditions, a growing number of political and public officials in Asia now look at the question of national security, military alliance and arms in a new light.

It was in the spirit of these new times that the Philippine defense secretary made his speech, saying that the Philippines should be given the chance to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. We cannot talk of independence if we cannot stand on our own, Fidel Ramos stressed.

Near East & South Asia

'Text' of Shevardnadze Plan for Mideast Peace

PM2802171189 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 25 Feb 89 pp 1-2

[Khalil Matar report: "Text of Soviet Plan for Peace Process Reactivation"]

[Excerpts] Baghdad, New York, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT, agencies—Iraqi President Saddam Husayn will receive a message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev when he receives Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today. [passage omitted]

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned from well-informed diplomatic sources that the new Soviet initiative carried by Shevardnadze on his tour of the Middle East consists of four points which the Soviet Union hopes would effectively reactivate the peace process and take the crisis out of the current state of political stagnation.

According to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT's sources, the Soviet initiative consists of the following points:

1. Formation of a five-member preparatory committee from the Arab states and sides concerned with the Middle East problem, namely Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the PLO, to come up with a unified, harmonious, or at least coordinated, Arab stance so that there will be no conflicting Arab positions at an international conference—otherwise the conference will be a failure.

2. Revival of Gorbachev's proposal, made years ago, urging the formation of an international committee, from the five permanent member states of the UN Security Council, to prepare an international conference and coordinate with the UN secretary general to specify the nature, form, and agenda of the conference.

3. Holding a UN Security Council session at the foreign-ministers level.

4. Arranging a direct meeting between Israeli and PLO officials within the framework of an international conference.

Shevardnadze Mideast Tour Highlights Soviet Role

LD0103002689 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Aleksey Zlatorunskiy commentary entitled: "Why Only a Limited Role?"]

[Text] USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's tour to a number of Middle East countries has ended. Heads of state as well as official and social personalities in the countries he visited have pointed out the importance of this visit in speeding up the political settlement of the Middle East problem. Arab information organs have also valued the outcome of his talks with Arab leaders as very positive. Many of those organs have pointed out that Eduard Shevardnadze's tour was aimed at transferring the issue of the political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and resolving the Palestinian problem from the arena of words to the arena of action. Such a tour has, furthermore, activated the efforts of the United Nations, and the UN Security Council in particular.

It is worth pointing out that some precise dates for convening a possible conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO on an equal footing, have only begun to emerge since the Soviet foreign minister's tour to the region. However, the question should be asked here: Isn't this an excellent development? Are there any interests that might be harmed by such a development of events, given the fact that Eduard Shevardnadze has affirmed more than once during his talks with Arab leaders that a firm and just peace in the Middle East can only be achieved if the interests of all parties directly concerned in the conflict are balanced with the interests of countries interested in the conflict.

However, it seems that the positive results of Eduard Sheverdnadze's visit to the Middle East and the Near East did not satisfy some in the West. For example, U.S. President George Bush announced that the USSR can play only a limited role in the Middle East. However, the President did not go further and explain his idea. A number of U.S. officials as well as mass media organs have taken advantage of this idea and tried to develop it in an attempt to describe the situation as follows: The USSR is trying to throw the United States out of the Middle East region. The Zionist leadership in Israel has shown a particular concern about this. Various allegations and lies have been emerging from there aimed first at distorting Soviet policy in the Middle East, and on the other hand, on exerting pressure on its U.S. strategic ally to push it to take a harsher policy toward the trends calling for the convening of an international conference and direct dialogue with the PLO. The fallacy of such claims is more than obvious.

Shervardnadze announced in a speech to the public in Cairo: We welcome the development of contacts between Middle East countries and the EEC as well as between the former and the United States. Moreover, in such matters the USSR calls for the removal of any competition between the superpowers. It is paramount to abandon the policy of belligerence in the region and to move on to constructive cooperation for the benefit of peace and tranquility in the Middle East. Is what we are saying here not clear enough? Wouldn't it be better if these words were construed as an invitation from the USSR to exert collective efforts, from Washington too, to put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict and to resolve the problem of the tormented Palestinian people? In my opinion no one should disagree with this.

As far as what has been said about the USSR reactivating its policy in the Middle East, it is possible to say that the USSR has activated its policy in all directions, such as matters of disarmament and the removal of means of mutual annihiliation, as well as the reduction of conventional weapons and reducing defense spending, and in general the settlement of all conflicts. If the United States, the EEC, and other countries had supported such a tendency, it would have been possible to welcome these moves as this would meet the interests of everyone.

BBC Interviews Soviet Expert on Mideast Efforts

PM2402093889 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Interview with USSR Academy of Sciences Middle East policy analyst Andrey Shumikhin in Jerusalem by news presenter Donald MacCormick in London on 22 February via Jerusalem-London telebridge; monitored in progress—live]

[Text] [MacCormick] A senior Soviet official spoke in public in Jerusalem today for the first time in 22 years. He was Andrey Shumikhin, senior adviser on the Middle East, and I hope he joins us now from our studio in Jerusalem. First of all, Mr Shumikhin, Mr Weinberger's main point there, which I hope you heard, was that the biggest step towards peace in the Middle East, so far—that is, the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty of 1979—was achieved without Soviet Union participation. Why does the peace process need you now?

[Shumikhin] Well, first of all, it is 10 years later than it was in'79. The situation has changed, the world has changed, the Soviet Union has changed. Look at what is happening. The major Soviet idea about the international conference on the Middle East is receiving the widest support possible, so why not try that? Why not give it a good chance to succeed? And also, why not accept the Soviet Union as an equal partner in what is happening in the Middle East, in the struggle for peace?

[MacCormick] What about Mr Shal... [corrects himself] Dr Shalim's point, however, in Julian O'Halloran's film report a few moments ago? His point was that it's really America, not the Soviet Union at all, that holds the key to peace in the Middle East because it's the Americans, and not you, and only the Americans who can put pressure on Israel to be more flexible.

[Shumikhin] Well, we all know that keys come in different sizes, and that many doors have more than one lock to be opened. I assume that in this particular case, each of the participants—potential and actual—have their own keys, and I wouldn't argue whose key is more important, whose key is bigger, but to my mind...

[MacCormick interrupts] You mean, you mean—sorry to interrupt you...

[Shumikhin] Yes?

[MacCormick] Do you mean you accept that the American key—to keep the metaphor going—is actually the more important one at the present time?

[Shumikhin] No, as I was saying, I don't argue, I don't want to argue whose key is larger, whose key is smaller. I am only saying that even if there is still a smallest lock on that door, which is still shut, and you need that key to have that door open.

[MacCormick] And, and, OK, what can the Soviet Union actually do to make that opening—or to help make it?

[Shumikhin] [Word indistinct] the Soviet Union is bringing forward new ideas. This is very important. The idea of the conference was the Soviet Union's; the Soviet Union is there in the Middle East, it has lots of friends and allies; the Soviet Union is influential internationally. Without the Soviet Union, I don't think, at this point, anyone will ever deem that the world will be [word indistinct].

[MacCormick] Yes, as we've said already, Mr Shumikhin, everyone approves of the idea of an international peace conference, except Israel—and these are the people with whom you have, as yet, no influence. Are you saying that you are going to acquire influence with Israel?

[Shumikhin] Well, uh, one of the more important sides of our stay here in Israel was that we realized with great vividness that there is a sizable part of the Israeli public opinion which is in support of the many things for which the Soviet Union stands for. And I think that everything is changing, and changing rapidly—including inside Israel—and there is hope that, sooner or later, even this idea will get the majority in this public opinion.

[MacCormick] Finally, Mr Shumikhin, I assume you reject out of hand Mr Weinberger's comments about the Soviet Union still being bent on world domination, that that aim informs your policy in the Middle East as everywhere else. But what about Dr McCauley's point,

not as extreme as that, in Julian O'Halloran's report, that the real Soviet motive here is to get back into the Islamic world—for your own purposes—from which you've been excluded since 1967.

[Shumikhin] Well, as far as domination is concerned, I certainly disagree with that, as well as with references to different characters from the zoo. This isn't a zoo. This is a very real, a very serious world, and each has to play its own role, the way humans play, and not animals. Now as far as getting into anyone's backyard or into a particular world—be it Islamic or, for that matter, Jewish—I think what is happening is that the Soviet Union is opening up its policy, making it quite ingenious in many respects, very much new, in accordance with the new thinking, and many people are simply unprepared for that. And this is why they try to give explanations in the sense of the old thinking to actually things which are very much new, very innovative.

[MacCormick] Mr Shumikhin, thank you very much indeed for joining us from Jerusalem.

Moscow Writers Demonstrate Outside Iranian Embassy

PM2802133389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 p 3

[V. Minayev report: "Everyone Writes As He Breathes"]

[Text] On Sunday a group of young Moscow writers staged a demonstration outside the Iranian embassy in Moscow in defense of the British writer S. Rushdie.

...We gathered by the Griboyedov monument at Chistyye Prudy.

"This is the first time I have been in a situation like this," one of the participants in the demonstration admitted to me. "I feel a bit awkward...."

To be honest, I felt the same. Our fears were in vain, however: The brief demonstration, of which the organizers, the Moscow "Poeziya" Club, had notified the Kalininskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration beforehand, was a peaceful one.

A 2-year-old girl asked her father:

"Well, when are they going to get frightened?"

We smiled. Just a dozen of us were gathered at this hour on Pokrovskiy Boulevard; we were hardly likely to frighten anyone. Quite the contrary—we were calling for fear to be removed from the practice of human relations. I noticed that children's writers were among those who had come to the embassy. Some of them had even brought younger members of the family with them. I am writing this to prove once again that the demonstration was essentially well-intentioned. It was also peaceful—in the true sense of the word. I do not think anyone had read the book "The Satanic Verses," and we were only very broadly acquainted with its contents. But sentencing literature to "capital punishment" is like something out of the ark in anyone's book.

The thrust of the demonstration was, I believe, illustrated best of all by one of the placards carried that day: "Everyone writes as he breathes." These words from the song by B. Okudzhava offer the greatest clarity in this sensational story, as far as I am concerned.

Afghan Senate Denounces Shura, Pakistan

LD0103001889 Moscow TASS in English 1953 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul February 28 TASS—Members of the Senate, the upper chamber of the National Council, parliament, of the Republic of Afghanistan, on Tuesday issued a statement to protest against the holding of the so-called shura (a consultative council) of the Afghan opposition in Rawalpindi.

The statement points out, in part, that the Afghan Government enacts the national reconciliation policy in the bid to get an early end to the fratricidal war. Memorable events have been held in the life of Afghan society over the period that has passed since its proclamation: The Loya Jirgah was held in the country, the Constitution was elaborated and endorsed, and the coalition government formed. The Afghan parliament resumed its activity after a 15-year break; thousands of prisoners convicted for anti-state activity were freed under the government amnesty.

In line with the aspirations for a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, the decision was made to withdraw the limited contingent of Soviet troops. The last Soviet soldier left Afghan land according to schedule and in full accordance with the spirit and letter of the Geneva agreements, the statement says. Apart from this, talks were held and contacts were formed with representatives of the opposition and also with some politicians who in the past played a prominent role in the life of Afghanistan.

Despite this, however, the die-hard opposition continues to sow death and destruction on Afghan soil. The United States and Pakistan supply modern weapons to the Afghan extremists. Following the complete withdrawal of the Soviet troop contingent from Afghanistan, Pakistan began concentrating its troops on the border with Afghanistan, which created a real threat to the territorial integrity, national sovereignty and political independence of the Republic of Afghanistan.

Flouting provisions of the Geneva agreements, the Pakistani authorities inspired the holding of the shura. This was the reason behind the imposition of a state of emergency in the Republic of Afghanistan, the statement points out.

The Afghan senators strongly demand an end to interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign state and also observance by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements.

The Supreme Council of Ulemas and Clergy on Tuesday issued a similar statement.

Charge Reaffirms Aid, Support for Afghanistan

LD2802235189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 28 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando]

[Text] In Kabul today there was a ceremonial meeting dedicated to the 68th anniversary of the signing of the Friendship Treaty between the RSFSR and Afghanistan.

The very fact that this anniversary is being celebrated shows that despite the fairly complicated situation in the country, all the traditional undertakings within the framework of cultural links between our country and Afghanistan are being conducted just as before. Today in the Hall of the Organization of Peace and Solidarity representatives of various strata of Afghan society gathered. It was noted that the friendship treaty between the RSFSR and Afghanistan was a great victory for Lenin's diplomacy and the progressive, patriotic forces of the Afghan people. It was a reliable guarantee for strengthening the national independence of Afghanistan and also the development of friendly relations and expanding economic links between the two countries.

At the present difficult time, it was noted in the speech by Ozhegov, charge d'affaires of the USSR in the Republic of Afghanistan, when the opposition is trying to effect not only a military, but also an economic blockade of Afghan towns, first and foremost Kabul, the Soviet Union is continuing to increase its help to friendly Afghanistan.

Trade Union Council Adopts Afghanistan Appeal

LD2402051089 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 22 TASS—The Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions adopted an appeal to the World Federation of Trade Unions in connection with the withdrawal of Soviet Troops from Afghanistan.

The appeal said that the Soviet Union implemented its commitments under the Geneva accords.

"Thousands of Soviet military personnel and advisors returned to their motherland after having fulfilled—honestly and courageously as they did—their patriotic and international duty," it said.

"Soviet troops have left Afghanistan, however Soviet people's solidarity duty toward the Afghan population does not stop there.

"In keeping with the agreements reached, Soviet trade unions will continue building diversified links with the Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions, and will maintain direct local ties between Soviet republican and regional trade union councils and trade union organisations in Afghan provinces," the appeal went on.

Despite the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan and the United States continue to interfere in Afghan internal affairs and, moreover, build up their aggression against this sovereign state.

"Blood is still being spilt on the long-suffering Afghan soil, people are killed, and violence and military actions are on the increase," Soviet trade unions said in the appeal.

On behalf of 142 million Soviet working people, the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions urged the World Federation of Trade Unions to support constructive efforts to reach a comprehensive settlement in Afghanistan, and organise a solidarity campaign to render material aid and moral assistance to Afghan trade unions.

Prospects for Afghan Settlement Discussed

LD2802190289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1041 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Feature program: "Afghanistan—A New Stage in a Settlement," presented by Vladimir Fadeyev, all-union radio foreign policy commentator, with the participation of journalist Genrikh Polyakov, international affairs specialist]

[Excerpts] [Fadeyev] Hello comrades! So the last day of February has come, a month the 15th day of which will be entered in the calendar of significant dates because for politicians it will always be linked with the victory of common sense and the new thinking in settling one of the most grevious regional conflicts. For tens of thousands of our servicemen, this was the last day of the Afghan war. For those who returned earlier, for those who did not see their husbands and sons return, and, finally, for many of us, 15 February has become a sort of point of departure in our indisputably new reflections on the nature of war—large or small—on the reasons for them, on how and where they end, and on the degree of involvement of each of us in this war, for the burden of it was borne one way or another by each of us.

We still must answer many difficult questions regarding this war because the time in which we live is primarily a time of great sobering up for us. Probably 10 years ago our consciousness perceived more easily, more a priori, I would say, our troops being introduced into a neighbouring country precisely with the aim of selfless assistance to the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which had won out there. We also were convinced that our presence in Afghanistan was simply essential, since it

conformed with the interests of defending our fatherland's southern frontiers. Later, somewhere in the second half of our stay there, various questions started to knock at the consciousness of millions of people, and I think that even today we are unable to answer to all of them. In any case, lessons must be learned from everything. Our government's very path toward making the decision on a political settlement to the Afghan question was also a long quest, together with the people, for an answer to difficult and agonizing questions. Today no one is in any doubt that we will find answers to these questions; this is our duty.

Well, on 15 February, in spite of the expectations of the world public and primarily of millions of Afghans, the armed conflict in Afghanistan nevertheless did not die out. With the departure of the last Soviet soldier, the conflict between the warring Afghan sides grew more bitter, with the sole difference that if during our presence the leaders of the irreconcilable opposition were rallying to the green banner of jihad all those who, as they said, valued an Afghanistan free of the presence of infidels—meaning the Soviets—then now the content of the war cries is different. They call for overthrowing the legitimate government of the Republic of Afghanistan. I would stress legitimate government, and by the way, to a considerable extent a coalition government in its composition, since it now includes representatives of the party and of all social groups in the country, even including certain field commanders who renounced armed struggle against the Kabul government. It does not include representatives of the so-called Alliance of Seven, based in Pakistan, or of the Alliance of Eight, the headquarters of which is in Iran. It must be said, however, that since its declaration of the national reconciliation policy, Kabul on several occasions has proposed to these groups that they sit at the negotiating table and not only hammer out a common conception for constructing a new Afghanistan, but share power as well.

As you will recall, the opposition rejects these proposals on the grounds that it does not wish to see PDPA representatives in the future government, representatives of the very party that, in spite of errors through the years, has appeared as the most realistic political force in Afghan society, for to the PDPA belongs the decisive role in implementing social and cultural changes which, albeit rather insubstantial as yet, are at the same time unprecedented for Afghanistan. By the way, these changes could be more substantial were it not for armed opposition to these plans from outside.

[Polyakov] Yes, to currently reject the role and place of the PDPA in the destiny of the country and people, in the future government, if it is elected with the participation of all groups and groupings on a democratic basis, is simply absurd and unrealistic. No one, for example, is likely to place in doubt the experience of the PDPA in state construction over the last 10 years. It may not be immaculate either in form or effectiveness, but it is experience, and the opposition has never had and does not have anything like it, just as they have no precise sociopolitical or economic program. The opposition persists, however, and primarily because in the path to the transformation of Afghan society proclaimed by the PDPA it perceives a threat to its own plans.

Of course, there also are other reasons for rejecting the PDPA as a negotiating partner, including reasons of pure ambition. Nor should one leave out of account such factors as tribal contradictions, religious feuding, inequality in the economic development of various ethnic groups, and finally, however odd it may seem, what I would refer to as the call of the blood, an inclination toward the traditional tribal form of rule in individual regions of the country and hence, as before, nonacceptance of a single, centralized power.

However, one thing is worse, and that is that precisely now when the warring sides could put an end to the bloodshed on the basis of mutual participation in restoring an economy damaged by war and creating conditions for the return of millions of refugees, two countries, the signatures of which are affixed to the Geneva Accords—I have in mind Pakistan and the United States—are doing everything possible to militarize the Afghan conflict. After all, supplies to the insurgents of arms labeled: Made in the U.S.A., have not been stopped, and rocket attacks on civilians in towns and villages continue. Washington shouts from the rooftops that military aid to the irreconcilable opposition—supposedly in the name of freedom in the region—will continue until the present government in Kabul goes. With this aim, the U.S. Administration is showering the most diverse opposition groups with military handouts to weld them into a single military bloc. Moreover, following 2 weeks of squabbling, the mujahidin finally managed, just 3 days ago, to elect some sort of transitional government—outside Afghanistan and behind the backs of the Afghan people. It is natural that the process of a political settlement has run into difficulties as a result of these actions.

[Fadeyev] Genrikh Anatoliyevich, does this mean that it has no prospects? And if it does, then what can be the options for a political solution to the Afghan problem under such conditions, that now have become more complex, both in Afghanistan itself and surrounding it?

[Polyakov] I think it is too early to bury the national reconciliation policy proclaimed by the PDPA; this must not be done. One factor currently in its favor is the reduction in the military cost of the conflict brought about by our withdrawal from Afghanistan. In its search for a political solution, the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan is displaying sufficient flexibility and is making certain compromises. The door remains open for any political group to participate in running the country—on a patriotic platform, of course. Contacts with the field commanders and representatives of certain opposition groups are being maintained. Work is underway to convene an international conference on Afghanistan with the participation of the UN secretary general.

Under practical study in the peace plan is so important a link aimed at defusing tension as restoring the economy—the national economy—and supplying fuel and food to the population through UN channels. Aid is being rendered to arriving refugees. Our diplomatic activity is actively and quite effectively engaged in this entire complex of issues, but a fact remains a fact: the processes of national reconciliation and internal Afghan dialogue have slowed down as a result of these circumstances introduced from outside. The situation has become exacerbated and the government has been compelled to embark on emergency measures. A state of emergency has been declared, a Supreme Defense Council has been set up in the republic, the necessary measures have been taken for curtailing sabotage and terrorism, and so on.

[Fadeyev] Genrikh Anatoliyevich, in this connection I think it is worth returning once again to the provisions of the Geneva documents. When we speak of the continuing interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan on the part of Washington and Islamabad, we cannot fail to recall that the United States, for example, together with our country, is one of the guarantors of the Geneva accords, and Pakistan, having affixed its signature to the documents in Geneva, thereby took on a whole list of commitments.

[Polyakov] [passage omitted] The commitments Afghanistan and Pakistan undertook were formulated quite precisely and leave no room for interpretation. Just as specific are the commitments of the guarantors, which are set out in the declaration of international guarantees. In the Soviet interpretation, a guarantor country is a country that supports the Afghan-Pakistani diplomatic settlement; wishes to promote achievement of the aims of the settlement on the basis of securing respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and nonaligned status of Afghanistan and Pakistan; and pledges rigorously to abstain from any kind of interference or intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Pakistan and to respect the commitments contained in the bilateral agreement of these two countries on the principles of mutual relations. It is precisely in this interpretation that these commitments on the part of the guarantors entered the final text of the documents.

[Fadeyev] Forgive me, Genrikh Anatoliyevich, could I just interrupt you? Just look at how things have actually worked out: The documents have been signed—two of the parties, the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan—are sticking by them, but as the saying goes, you cannot clap with the one hand. It is worth emphasizing here that any settlement in Afghanistan depends not just on the will and actions of the Republic of Afghanistan and our country. Today—and I stress today—it depends to a greater extent on the goodwill of the United States. I believe that Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto will do what she can to restrict the activities of her special services, which are continuing to play the principal role in drawing up strategic plans against neighboring Afghanistan, and which naturally influence the tactics of all the opposition groups.

It is the same story with the convening of the shura and the election of the so-called transitional government, which is supposed to rival the present government in Kabul and the task of which it is to continue the war. It is acknowledged by several of the mujahidin that they could not have done it without the direct participation of the Pakistani intelligence.

[Polyakov] Incidentally, that was reported by U.S. journalists, but given that the close relationship between the Pakistani and U.S. intelligence services has long been an open secret, it depends now on Washington's goodwill whether the chaos and bloodshed in Afghanistan is to continue, or whether finally the long-awaited peace will come to reign. Everyone is most disenchanted by President Bush's decision to continue aiding the rebels even now that our troops have been withdrawn. Generally speaking, it is clear what the Americans are counting on by pursuing such a policy. Indeed, they make no bones about it; 2 days ago U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle spoke of it quite openly. Thus, behind the expressions of support for a policy aimed at a political settlement in Afghanistan masquerades the aim of installing a government in Kabul that suits Washington.

Personally, I cannot help feeling that all this rumpus by the opposition forces is like someone doing a jigsaw puzzle, knowing in advance that he will never get the individual pieces to fit together, and for that reason assembling it on the principle of what-will-be-will-be, we-will-just-have-to-see. The worst of it is that at the back of all this one can discern a complete indifference toward the fate of the Afghan people. Yet it is perfectly obvious that there can be no military solution to the situation in Afghanistan and that holding out for one can only prolong the war indefinitely. There are more than enough weapons in Afghanistan for this. Moreover, the war can die down and then flare up in the most disparate corners of the country. It may sound like profanity, but for some the war spells misery, while for others it is a profitable business.

That is why much depends now on the choice the Afghan people themselves make, and on the consolidation of the national entrepreneurs, the intelligentsia—including the nonparty intelligentsia—the landowners, and the working people. I repeat: Today both sides in Afghanistan have quite enough weapons to prolong the war endlessly. It is important for the sides not to want to prolong it further, for them to be able in the long run to rise above group ambitions and unite on a joint platform for the sake of peace on Afghan soil. This is no simple matter, but it is precisely because it is not simple that the situation in Afghanistan remains difficult and tense.

However, let us be optimists, and let us hope that the patriotic forces in Afghan society—and these exist among the opposition, too—will succeed in gaining the upper hand.

[Fadeyev] Very well, let us be optimists. I would like to endorse the sentiments you voiced in your last paragraph. [passage omitted]

History of Soviet-Afghan Cooperation Reviewed

PM0103093789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[V. Shurygin dispatch: "It Happened In 1921. On the Anniversary of the Soviet-Afghan Friendship Treaty"]

[Text] The withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan has put an end to the malicious propaganda about the Soviet Union's "expansionist aspirations" and its plans to foist "communist ways" on the Republic of Afghanistan. In fulfilling the Geneva agreements, the USSR confirmed its loyalty to the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference in internal affairs on which it bases its relations with its southern neighbor.

From the very beginning these principles were a firm foundation for the development of close Soviet-Afghan ties. Let me recall that the young Soviet republic was the first state to acknowledge Afghanistan's independence and extend the hand of friendship and aid to it in long-ago 1919. V.I. Lenin pointed out that "...there are no questions between Afghanistan and Russia that could provoke disagreements and throw a shadow on Russian-Afghan friendship... We are convinced," he wrote, "that our most sincere wish will be fulfilled and that Russia will always be the first friend of the High Afghan State for the good of both peoples."

The lofty, noble principles on which the cooperation between our countries is based have assumed juridical form in a number of documents. The most significant of them include the Soviet-Afghan Friendship Treaty signed in Moscow 28 February 1921. Its aim, as the preamble said, was to consolidate the friendly relations between the two countries and protect Afghanistan's real independence.

The treaty was signed at a difficult time for the Afghans. The British colonialists, with their foothold in India, tried with every means at their disposal to gain control of Afghanistan's foreign policy and frustrate ratification of the treaty, weaving intrigues and intimidating the Afghan leadership with the "Sovietization" of the country. Typically, the notorious "Curzon ultimatum" to the Soviet Government in the spring of 1923 contained a demand for the recall of the Soviet plenipotentiary from Kabul. However, this attempt, like others by our country's enemies to turn Afghanistan into an anti-Soviet bridgehead, failed.

The idea of friendship and cooperation between our countries has triumphed at all times. It has borne great fruit. With USSR assistance more than 130 facilities have been constructed in Afghanistan. They include such major enterprises as the Mazar-e-Sharif Nitrogenous Fertilizer Plant, the Jangalak Automobile Repair Plant, gas fields in the north of the country, the housing construction combine in Kabul, more than 1,600 km of highways, and others.

Cooperation between the two countries developed at particularly high rates after the April 1978 revolution. In the last 10 years alone more than 50 facilities have been constructed with Soviet aid in Afghanistan. Contracts have been signed with the private sector to set up 450 facilities. Today foreign trade turnover between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union exceeds $1.2 billion and totals 60 percent of Afghan foreign trade turnover.

Afghan national cadres are trained in many educational establishments that have been constructed and equipped with our assistance. They include the Kabul Polytechnical Institute, the Mazar-e-Sharif Petroleum Surveying Technical College, automechanical and industrial training and technical colleges in the capital, and 15 vocational and technical colleges. In the years of our cooperation more than 6,000 Afghans have obtained diplomas from Soviet VUZ's.

The Soviet Government statement marking the completion of the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan says that the Soviet Union is prepared to do everything in its power to ensure that Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation continues to serve the interests of our peoples—both at the current phase, by helping the transition to peaceful life, and also after the attainment of an all-embracing Afghan settlement.

The main obstacle to such a settlement today is the policy of the armed opposition, which is sabotaging the quest for national reconciliation. The opposition's actions can only complicate the solution of the Afghan crisis. But the task of restoring peace, reviving the economy, and healing the wounds inflicted by the war still remains. The Afghan people can continue to rely on the friendly assistance of the USSR in this.

'Watershed' Arab Maghreb Economic Pact Viewed

PM2702141189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 Feb 89 Second Edition p 7

[Sergey Filatov dispatch under the rubric "Correspondent Comments": "Maghreb Wants To Be United"]

[Text] Rabat, Feb—Plans are not always swiftly realized. The question of creating an economic community of North African countries was raised back in colonial times, in 1947, at the Cairo congress of the Arab Maghreb. Some 11 years later the Tangiers conference of

Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian political organizations proclaimed the need for a federal union of Maghreb states after Algeria attained independence. However, the matter got no further than declarations.

And then at last, at the end of February the Moroccan city of Marrakesh, this kingdom's ancient capital, became the place where the leaders of five countries—Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya—initialed a treaty creating the Arab Maghreb Union [AMU]. The document states that the new regional political and economic organization has been created to develop all-around fraternal ties, achieve general progress and prosperity, protect the rights of the AMU members, strengthen peace, pursue a common political line in various spheres, and guarantee freedom of movement for people, goods, and capital within the member countries' borders.

It is particularly worthwhile singling out the point that aggression against any of the parties to the treaty is viewed as aggression against the whole union. I believe that this is a real factor for strengthening peace in a region where both Libya and Tunisia have been subjected to military attacks by the United States and Israel in recent years.

The treaty prohibits actions on the territory of any member country that pose a threat to the security of another partner. A number of commentators believe that a new situation will now emerge in the Western Saharan conflict, which has already lasted 13 years. Although, according to official statements, the issue of the future of Western Sahara was not broached at the "meeting of the five," I think that the process of Maghreb rapprochement cannot fail to influence the conflict's settlement.

In my view, the treaty will help primarily to resolve problems of regional cooperation—economic cooperation, above all. Under conditions where the AMU countries are going through a tricky period of economic difficulties, they hope to find solutions to soften the blows of the crisis precisely by means of their integration. The slogan of "complementariness," that is, assisting a neighbor by virtue of strong aspects of the economy of each union member, has become popular. Algeria, for example, has oil and gas; agriculture is better developed in Morocco; and light industry is better developed in Tunisia; Mauritania has ore; and Libya has financial potential. On the other hand, Libya needs manpower, while there is unemployment in Algeria and Tunisia; Morocco does not have its own natural gas; Mauritania needs finance... And now the neighbors intend to help each other.

People here do not hide the fact that the European "Common Market" serves the Maghreb states as an example of regional union. True, the union members are faced with the question of how countries with different economic structures will be able to "harmonize" them. The sociopolitical regime in Algeria, for example, differs from that in Morocco and Tunisia. And in order to achieve the goals set in the Maghreb, in the opinion of King Hassan II of Morocco, who addressed a news conference at the end of the meeting, either these two countries must become closer to Algeria or vice versa. It is hard to predict how far the process of "economic rapprochement" will go or how quickly, but people here see this rapprochement as the key to creating a common North African market.

Here is another characteristic feature of the treaty concluded in Marrakesh: It emerged at the same time as the Arab Cooperation Council uniting Egypt, Iraq, the Yemen Arab Republic, and Jordan was created at the other end of the Arab world, in Baghdad. Together with the Gulf Cooperation Council, these three regional groupings have gathered into their ranks almost all the Arab states—which has given local commentators grounds for proclaiming the rebirth of the spirit of the Arab nation's unity. Of course, the fact of the simultaneous birth of the AMU and the Arab Cooperation Council is something out of the ordinary and could have far-reaching consequences for the overall situation in the Near East region.

I will also point out that the closeness, not to mention the unity, of the cultural, linguistic, and historical roots of the peoples who live in North Africa was one of the reasons prompting the AMU's creation. They also have a common religion—Islam. Therefore the treaty particularly emphasizes the need to preserve and develop cultural and religious traditions. On the emblem of the "meeting of the five," all the Maghreb countries were depicted in green—the color of Islam—on the map of the region.

Probably only a couple of years ago there was no possibility of creating a Maghreb community; relations among the various North African countries were just too strained. But now, having taken several steps toward each other, surmounted many contradictions, and at the same time shown political will, the leaders of the five states have signed a treaty which is, as it were, a watershed on the historical path of the region—a path toward unity.

USSR-PDRY Economic Commission Meets in Aden

LD2802100289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1925 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Aden, 27 Feb (TASS)—The 7th session of the permanent Soviet-Yemeni Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation started work here today. The Soviet delegation at the session is headed by V.G. Chirskov, cochairman of the permanent commission and USSR Minister of contruction of petroleum and gas industry enterprises. The South Yemeni delegation is headed by S.A.B. bin Husaynun, cochairman of the permanent commission, YSP Central Committee member, first deputy prime minister, and minister of energy and minerals of the PDRY.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Sierra Leone's Detention of Ship Clarified

PM2702135189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 First Edition p 6

[Interview, in response to reader's letter, with V. Paka, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oceanography Institute Atlantic Division, by nonstaff correspondent Zh. Azarova: "Who Took Fright at the Peaceful 'Pisces'"; date, place of interview not given; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] It has been learned that the research ship "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh" will return from its voyage several weeks later than planned. People are saying that this is connected with an incident that occurred in Sierra Leone, where during an inspection of the Soviet ship devices intended for combat operations were allegedly discovered. There are rumors that some of the crew were arrested by the authorities of that country and subjected to torture. Could your newspaper throw some light on this?

[Signed] N. Serov, navigator, Kaliningrad.

Our nonstaff correspondent Zh. Azarova asked V. Paka, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oceanography Institute Atlantic Division, to reply to our reader.

[Paka] The purpose of the "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh's" voyage was to test the deep-water "Pisces" devices after they had been overhauled and re-equipped in Poland, with the participation of specialists from a West German firm. The crew was supposed to take them on board in order to carry out additional research. This was to take place in Freetown, where the "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh" arrived 3 February, right on schedule under the agreement. However, the following day during the departure formalities, the Freetown port authorities announced the arrest of the ship: "You have submarines on board, therefore yours is a warship and consequently subject to a different procedure."

The absurdity of this claim was obvious. Soviet oceanologists have been working with the "Pisces"—Canadian-built deep-water devices—for more than a decade. Scientists from dozens of other countries have carried out research together with our scientists on several occasions during these years, and monographs have been written on this subject.

The Soviet Government sent a protest note to the Government of Sierra Leone. A commission of that country was allowed on board the "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh." The result of this investigation removed all suspicion, as was to be expected.

Throughout this time the crew remained on board the ship. There were no reprisals, threats, or violence against members of the expedition or the ship's crew. V. Kazmin, captain of the ship, reports that the crew demonstrated self-possession and remained calm. It would be possible to end here. The incident has been exhausted. However, the forced delay of the research ship introduced changes in the expedition's program. The representatives of the West German firm did not wait for the outcome of the investigation and returned home. The length of the trip had to be extended for the same reason.

USSR Promises To Continue Aid to Mozambique

Soviet Envoy Outlines Aid

MB2102160089 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Mozambique has just received another ship from the Soviet Union. The ship is one of two vessels offered by Soviet Union to Mozambique. Present at the handing-over ceremony were Mozambique's Minister of Transport and Communications Armando Guebuza and the Soviet Union's Ambassador to Mozambique, Nikolay Dybenko. Radio Maputo's Pedro Farahane spoke to Ambassador Dybenko for more details about this donation.

[Begin Dybenko recording in Russian fading into English translation] Last week, we donated to Mozambique a boat of about 2,000 tons of cargo capacity in the framework of our emergency assistance to the People's Republic of Mozambique. Its crew will include seven Soviet technicians who will work on board of the ship till the training of the Mozambican crew is completed. It is just a small part of our emergency assistance to Mozambique. The second boat will be handed over in about a week's time. It is of the same capacity of 2,000 tons and it is provided for moving emergency cargo between smaller Mozambican ports and as well to go up the rivers.

Our relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique are based on the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation of 1977. The Soviet Union has given to Mozambique for economic rehabilitation about 225 million rubles. By now, this credit has been practically fully used. Now a new agreement on cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Mozambique for the next 5 years is being prepared. For this purpose, a high-ranking Mozambican delegation is to go to Mozambique [as heard] for negotiations. [end recording]

Finally, our reporter asked Ambassador Dybenko to talk about the current state of relations between the Soviet Union and Mozambique.

[Begin Dybenko recording in Russian fading into English translation] We have been cooperating with Mozambique, as you have rightly put it, for many years in the

spheres of friendship and taking into account the economic difficulties of Mozambique. We have taken a decision to reschedule the repayments of the Mozambican debt to the Soviet Union. We have taken a decision as well to give Mozambique, from 1988 to 1990, consumer goods for 45 million rubles as free of charge assistance, as well as to give Mozambique food assistance, diesel fuel, building materials for about 30 million rubles on terms of favorable credit.

Only in 1988, we supplied to Mozambique over 150,000 tons of diesel fuel, 18,000 tons of cement, over 7,500 tons of fresh frozen fish, and the spare parts for aircraft, automobiles, and tractors for over 8.7 million rubles. The supplies of equipment and materials for the [words indistinct] objects of Soviet-Mozambican cooperation in 1988 were of about 10 million rubles.

The joint Soviet-Mozambican fishing society, Mosopesca, has captured and supplied to the internal market of Mozambique in 1988 over 12,000 tons of fish. In 1988 as well, our specialists have built over 60 water wells, and since the beginning of our cooperation we have built over 200 such wells as a result of which over 300,000 inhabitants of the provinces of Gaza and Maputo have received water for their needs.

Since 1982, a ship repairing complex has been functioning in Maputo. Since the beginning of its work, it has repaired over 550 ships, including 95 ships in 1988. We should note as well that according to the official data of the United Nations, our country is the third major donor of emergency aid to Mozambique.

In the framework of this aid, the USSR has sent to Mozambique six helicopters (?in aid) and the respective crews. These helicopters have delivered food and other necessary emergency supplies to different districts of central and northern regions of the country, and we contribute to alleviating the sufferings of the affected populations in the provinces of Sofala, Tete, Manica, and Zambezia. Since the beginning of its work, our helicopters in Mozambique have moved over 1,300 tons of different food products and/or the basic necessary supplies, as well as they have moved over 9,000 people.

Recently, as I have already pointed out, we have handed over to the Mozambican authorities the first of our two ships which are being delivered in the framework of emergency assistance as well. In the future, we are going to hand over in the framework of the same emergency assistance program 30 trucks.

As our contribution to the Africa Fund, we are financing free of charge work in Mozambique of 250 Soviet specialists in different fields of the national economy of Mozambique, including 70 doctors, a large group of teachers training Mozambican national cadres at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, and in pedagogic institutes. [end recording]

Attache Pledges Military Aid

MB2102184089 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] The Soviet Union has reaffirmed its continued military support for Mozambique. The pledge was made at a news conference in Maputo today by the military attache at the Soviet embassy in the Mozambican capital, Colonel Vyacheslav Glagolev.

Col Glagolev said the Soviet Union will always work toward raising the level of military cooperation with Mozambique to correspond with the demand of the current situation. He said the Soviet Union would comply with all the accords it had signed with Mozambique.

Col Glagolev said his country was not directly involved in Mozambique's war against South Africa's MNR bandits. He said Soviet military advisers could make suggestions, but that the final result of the struggle is up to the Mozambican Government and the Frelimo Party. He said the Soviet Union had no right to intervene in the internal affairs of Mozambique.

East Europe

Rakowski Regrets 'Anti-Soviet Execesses'

PM0103105589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Mar 89 p 5

["Anti-Soviet Sally in Krakow"—SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA headline]

[Text] Warsaw February 28 TASS—Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski received V. Brovikov, the Soviet ambassador to Poland, on Monday and expressed regret over anti-Soviet excesses made by a certain part of students during a demonstration in Krakow last week, the Polish news agency reported.

A statement, made on behalf of the Polish Government by its press spokesman Jerzy Urban and disseminated by PAP, sharply condemned the series of street demonstrations organized in Krakow last week by a section of students, chiefly from Jagiellonian University, and held under the emblems of the "Independent Students' Union", "Solidarity" and "The Confederation of Independent Poland."

A group of students, the statement runs, committed an outrageous anti-Soviet provocation by defiling the gratitude monument erected by the Polish public in tribute to the Soviet soldiers who liberated Poland and Krakow and saved it from destruction. A total of 600,000 soldiers gave their lives for an independent Poland and for students to be able to live and study. Actions, insulting to the Soviet Army, the Soviet flag and other symbols so dear to the Soviet people, took place.

Some attacks were actually directed against the Soviet policy of restructuring and openness, which contribute to Polish efforts to promote democracy and pluralism.

The protestors threw stones at representatives of the services charged with keeping order, who were fulfilling their duty. Some of them were injured and public property was damaged.

The Polish Government is taking the events in Krakow and Warsaw very seriously, Urban said. The street riots anf anti-Soviet provocations are aimed against the very essence of the "roundtable" talks and the agreement awaited by society. They show that growing freedom and democracy are being abused at the outset, which runs counter to the fundamental interests of the country, both inside and outside. Compromising the freedoms and reforms only meets the interests of their enemies.

The government urged all participants in the "roundtable" to condemn the Krakow incidents.

PAP Cited on Strikes, Student Unrest

PM2702153189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 89Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "To Ensure Social Calm"]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Feb—A session of the Polish Council of Ministers held yesterday discussed the political situation in the country and the progress of the "roundtable" talks. It was emphasized, PAP reports, that strikes and protest actions have an adverse effect on the economy and damage the process of economic reform.

The achievement of national accord and the creation of a pluralist democracy are a historic experiment whose success depends on many factors, of which social calm is one of the most crucial. The street unrest of recent days, especially in Krakow, provoked by irresponsible groups of students, is aimed against the "roundtable" ideas, undermines the principles of dialogue, and weakens Poland's international positions. If the program of radical reforms is thwarted this will have dramatic consequences for the future of the country and the organizers of the unrest themselves.

The Polish Council of Ministers adopted a decision aimed at preventing a destabilization of the situation in the country. The government instructed law-enforcement bodies to resolutely counter violations of the law, whose observance is a precondition of the development of democracy.

Moscow TV Looks at Situation in Poland

LD2502234589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A lot is now being written and spoken about the considerable changes taking place in Polish society, in particular about the roundtable meeting between representatives of various political and social forces in the country. What does this meeting mean for the Polish people and what might its outcome be? We asked our Warsaw correspondent, Yuriy Ulyanov:

[Ulyanov] It's in light of the talks that people are discussing the nonstop price rises—this week alone, prices were raised on sausages, bread, flour, and newspapers—and the reports of strikes breaking out and dying away and of demonstrations in various cities around Poland. In one way or another, all these subjects are finding reflection in the roundtable talks held behind closed doors. The results of the talks are announced to Polish and foreign journalists at press conferences which are held virtually every evening by spokesmen for the government, trade unions, and opposition groups rallying under the slogans of the former Solidarity trade union. We had a meeting with one of the participants in the talks, Stanislaw Ciosek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He pointed out that this kind of roundtable is, in effect, historical experiment which is helping to expand the social basis of socialism in Poland.

[Begin Ciosek recording in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] Together with the opposition we are now in fact working on an electoral manifesto which will be common to all Poles during the Sejm elections in early summer. We are discussing economic reform, social relations in the country and the future of Poland. The roundtable continues for a few weeks yet, and I hope that it will bring positive results. [end recording]

Polish Defense Minister on Bloc Posture

PM0103111189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA correspondent A. Starukhin interview with Polish National Defense Minister Army General Florian Siwicki: "Defensive Line"; date not given]

[Text] Warsaw—Starukhin: In your opinion, Comrade General, what is the significance of the statement issued by the Committee of Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers "On the Correlation in the Numerical Strengths of Warsaw Pact and NATO Armed Forces and Arms in Europe and the Waters Around It"?

Siwicki: The adoption of this document logically and graphically expresses the Warsaw Pact states' very concrete approach to problems of security. The evolution of the international situation, the broadening of the new

political thinking, and the beginning of practical steps in disarmament have resulted in tension gradually giving way to detente. This inspires hope and opens up regular opportunities to develop peace processes further. Many events have taken place over the last few months that confirm that this is precisely how things stand.

First, I would like to cite here the Soviet Union's unilateral initiatives concerning the reduction of its Armed Forces and arms that M.S. Gorbachev presented to the United Nations. Their positive effect on strengthening security and confidence-building cannot be overestimated. The world is also paying great attention to the reductions in armed forces and arms and the cutting of military budgets being undertaken by other socialist states, including Poland. These measures differ in scale and nature. But they are united in the truly defensive nature of their military doctrine and the implementation of the principle of minimum sufficiency for armies. We are also trying to win over the other side, the NATO countries, to this way of thinking and—this is the main thing—to this way of acting, moreover, by real acts of good will, evidence of our peaceful ideas, and practical steps that serve to strengthen mutual trust rather than through verbal entreaties. The statement made by the Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers' Committee should also be ranked as such an action.

In my opinion, this statement is characterized by three things that impart to it a qualitatively special significance.

The first is the honesty of the assessments. The Warsaw Pact prescribes the exchange of quantitative data on both sides' armed forces and conventional weapons as the necessary condition for progress at the talks. In drafting the statement, the defense ministers' committee was ruled by honesty and a method of calculation that give the other side a good opportunity to analyze our military might in the appropriate fashion.

Second, this document is notable for the comprehensive nature of its data. We have no right to forget about such important elements of military potential as, for instance, the navy. We consider the armed forces to be a single organism. If anyone wants to objectively assess the correlation of forces between the two sides, they must examine the question in a detailed fashion. The Warsaw Pact also demonstrated this approach, which made it possible to examine disarmament problems more realistically in the course of future talks.

Third and last, this statement is characterized by frankness. We have shown clearly and without omissions both the advantageous and the disadvantageous—if I can use that expression—elements and phenomena, the existing asymmetries and disproportions. We can only hope that our readiness to sign agreements on questions of eliminating the asymmetries and disproportions, reducing conventional weapons, and broadening confidence-building measures will be taken the right way by our partners in the talks and will be reflected in their practical work of disarmament.

Starukhin: Comrade Minister, what comment could you make on the decision to reorganize your country's Armed Forces?

Siwicki: The reasons for these steps are well known. We are meeting the positive trends that are emerging in the international situation and we are reappraising our method of implementing defense tasks in the spirit of the decisions adopted by the country's Defense Committee, both in accordance with the defensive nature of our military doctrine and in accordance with Poland's economic potential. We are dealing with two phenomena here—a reduction in the contingent of Armed Forces and arsenals in terms of the main armaments and also a reduction in military expenditure. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that these actions will not be mechanical. We are trying to effect profound structural changes within our Armed Forces, aiming to waste as little effort and money as possible and exploiting all our reserves in the organizational, educational, and economic spheres, while preserving our Army's ability to provide effective defense in line with the level of the threat to our security. In this way we have reduced the Army's numerical strength by 15,000 soldiers and our level of armament has been lowered by a large number of aircraft, tanks, artillery, and other equipment. At present disarmament has assumed a broader character.

Irrespective of how the world situation takes shape, the measures mapped out for 1989-1990 provide for further reductions in personnel and also reductions in material and technical potential.

Starukhin: In your opinion, how will the all-European process of relaxing tension, holding talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, and eliminating the asymmetries in individual branches of arms develop?

Siwicki: I believe that the path toward a further relaxation of military tension and disarmament talks has been elaborated quite comprehensively in the international context. The Vienna meeting of the 35 CSCE states' representatives ended in January having adopted a mandate on the question of reducing armed forces and conventional weapons on the continent. The document defined the aim and subject of the talks and the size of the territorial reductions. The Warsaw Pact states have been in favor of beginning such talks immediately for a long time. This was also confirmed by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee when it met last year in Warsaw and adopted a statement on talks to reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

Realism requires me, however, to note both the positive and the negative phenomena in the development of the international situation. We must, undoubtedly, expect the new thinking to blaze an increasingly broad trail in the approach to political and military problems and bear fruit in the shape of changes for the better. This process must not be halted. The realization that war in any form leads to tremendous losses and devastation, threatens life on the planet, and is thus senseless, is becoming widespread. Only dialogue, cooperation, and understanding and respect for the views and interests of one's partners and neighbors can create the chance of universal peace on earth.

NATO states have a disparate approach to problems of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional. Our partners agree to talks on armed forces reductions and arms limitation, but at the same time they continue to pursue the course of improving tactical nuclear and conventional offensive weapons. One gets the impression that dialogue is not the main aim for some circles. What if the contradictions between the official idea of "balanced security" and the practical policy "from a position of strength" made an impact on the coming talks in Vienna? They will probably be complex talks—the problems are indeed vast and it is, moreover, a question of complex military topics. It is hard to foresee the final results. But I want to stress that the Polish side is guided by the "Jaruzelski Plan" and will come to the negotiating table convinced that an agreement must be signed and ready to eliminate the existing asymmetries and disproportions, considerably reduce armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, and also broaden confidence-building measures.

Starukhin: A number of socialist countries have recently announced a unilateral reduction in their armed forces and arms and also in their military budgets. Won't this weaken the defensive might of these states and the entire Warsaw Pact?

Siwicki: Unease has been observed on this score on some occasions. But I personally don't believe that it is well-founded. In Poland we are examining this question particularly keenly. After many very tragic national ordeals we are now living within secure borders surrounded by allies. These borders are our historical gain and we guard them very carefully. Our sense of security is reinforced by Poland's participation in the socialist defense community and particularly by its alliance with the USSR. Analyzing the international situation, we believe that the threat to peace is reduced, although it still exists. It would be thoughtless to unilaterally reduce our alliance policy and national defense potential beyond what is permissible. While adopting decisions on structural changes in Poland's Armed Forces, we are indeed endeavoring to preserve the requisite number of troops and level of equipment to guarantee the country's security within the framework of the Warsaw Pact defense system. This means that all our tasks must be—as they have been hitherto—fulfilled to the end.

Less does not mean worse. Every soldier must understand this slogan and learn to practically implement it. Today and in the future "less" in service and everyday combat readiness means more effective, more efficient, and more economical. This contemporary approach to the organization of our Armed Forces must affect our military life so that our defense capability in its new form remains effective at the level of both Polish and alliance policy.

CPCZ's Stepan Warns Against 'Subversive Forces'

PM2402123589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Festive Demonstration"]

[Text] Prague, 23 Feb—A public festive demonstration was held here today to mark the 41st anniversary of the Czechoslovak working people's February victory over bourgeois reaction. CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary M. Jakes, CSSR President G. Husak, and other leaders of the country were present.

Socialist Czechoslovakia's working people, true to the behests of the February revolution and inspired by the CPSU's new political course, have begun resolving crucial tasks of restructuring and democratization of society, M. Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague city party committee, declared in his speech to the gathering. No one can deny the great successes achieved in the course of socialist building. At the same time we know that the path traveled by the country has not been easy. On it there have been successes and shortcomings, missed opportunities and mistakes.

Restructuring involves absolutely everyone, is being carried out in the interests of the people's masses, and is inseparably linked with the broadening democratization of social life, the speaker continued. Enhanced responsibility and stronger order and discipline everywhere are the necessary precondition for this. However, subversive forces have recently been growing active in the country, trying with the help of certain circles in the West to destabilize the internal political situation and to dismantle socialism in Czechoslovakia. We resolutely reject such actions and express the conviction that the CSSR's working people will respond to them with selfless labor for the good of socialism, M. Stepan pointed out.

CSSR Public Reaction to Havel Case Cited

PM2402133189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 3

[Own Correspondent Ye. Nefedov report: "Writer Vaclav Havel Convicted of Breaking Law During January Demonstrations in Center of Prague"]

[Text] Prague—No, according to the indictment this was nothing to do with a "political trial," a "prisoner of conscience," or a "dissident victim," even though V.

Havel is indeed one of the leaders of Charter-77. The Prague-3 District Court presented two charges against him. The first was of incitement to breach public order on Wenceslas Square. This refers to repeated calls via Western radio stations to gather for a demonstration not authorized by the city authorities on the 20th anniversary of the student Jan Palach's self-immolation there. The second charge was that in the square he did not heed the public security forces' appeal to the crowd to disperse and that he resisted them. Havel has been sentenced to 9 months' imprisonment, but he and his lawyer are going to appeal the court's verdict.

A number of other participants in these events face similar trials in another Prague District Court.

Out on the street, usually by the newsstand, where in the mornings there is usually quite a large number of people on such occasions, I have been asking Prague residents for their opinion of the events which are being talked and written about here. I shall cite some of those I heard here yesterday:

"In my opinion, whether they are imprisoned or released, order must be maintained. People have become accustomed to living in peace in our country, not tension."

"Havel and the entire Charter organization have been stirring things up for several years now. Let them speak out publicly: What do they want, what are they calling for? The people themselves will understand what is really going on."

"Did you hear that there were letters in their defense signed by hundreds of cultural and scientific figures? What do you make of that?"

"Where were those figures with their indignation when Soviet memorials at Olsany cemetery were smashed and when cities thundered with explosions?..."

There are as many opinions as there are people.

Multiparty Systems in Bloc Countries Noted

PM2802112989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[P. Bogomolov reply to reader's question under the rubric "Dialogue": "Whom the Various Parties Represent"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] "We know that in Poland there exist—in addition to the PZPR—the United Peasant Party [ZSL], the Democratic Party [SD], and the Central Commission for Cooperation Among the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD. Could you speak about these parties and say whom they represent?" our reader I. Alyabyev writes from Odessa. Other readers also address similar questions concerning the multiparty system in socialist countries to the editors.

The multiparty system is a substantial element in the life of many socialist countries. In the GDR, for example, in addition to the Marxist-Leninist SED, which leads and directs forces in the country's state and public life, four more parties function: the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, which unites some peasant members of agricultural production cooperatives, employees, and the intelligentsia connected with agriculture. Representatives of craftsmen and traders and a section of the intelligentsia, employees, and the cooperative peasantry belong to the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany. The National Democratic Party of Germany unites mainly representatives of middle sections of the population. The believing section of the GDR population belongs to the Christian Democratic Union. They all recognize the leading role of the working class and the SED and support government policy. Together with the SED the said parties belong to the GDR National Front, have their own deputies in the GDR People's Chamber, and have press organs at their disposal.

Parties other than Marxist-Leninist ones also function in the CSSR, the PRC, and other socialist countries. Hungary is returning to a multiparty system. The MSZMP Central Committee draft resolution submitted for nationwide discussion proposes that the process of the democratic realization of power should develop within the framework of a multiparty system under public control.

A three-party coalition system operates in Poland. In addition to the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD are represented in the government and the Sejm.

The ZSL was created in 1949 as the successor to the progressive direction of the Polish peasantry's political movement. The majority of its members are private peasants. It draws up and implements a program for the development of the country's agriculture and cooperates actively with the PZPR in this sphere.

R. Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Main Committee, is now marshal of the Polish Sejm. The party has its own press organs—the newspaper DZIENNIK LUDOWY and the weekly ZIELONY SZTANDAR.

The SD dates from 1939. Its members are a section of the urban intelligentsia, craftsmen, and trade workers. Like the ZSL, the SD recognizes the PZPR's leading role in building socialism. T. Mlynczak, chairman of the SD Central Committee, is deputy chairman of the Polish Council of State. The party's press organs are the newspaper KURIER POLSKI and the weekly TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY.

The Central Commission for Cooperation Among the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD functions in Poland to coordinate and formulate positions and adopt joint decisions on all the most important questions in the country's life.

West Europe

Italian Party Leader Visits, Meets Gorbachev

Occhetto Arrives 27 Feb

LD2702163689 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party Achille Occhetto arrived in Moscow Monday on a brief working visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

Gorbachev, Occhetto Meet

PM0103104989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and A. Occhetto"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev met with Italian Communist Party leader Achille Occhetto 28 February.

The meeting was a further step in developing relations between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Italian Communist Party, relations whose substance and dynamics over recent years have reflected the novelty of processes under way in the two countries, in Europe and in the world as a whole.

For the larger part of their lively, intellectually rich exchange, which continued for nearly 5 hours as they compared ideas and plans, the two leaders told each other of the activities of their parties at the present stage.

Gorbachev made an in-depth analysis of the condition of Soviet society which is far from what it was in April 1985. The party is now marching to another plenum in April 1989 in a totally unusual campaign atmosphere in the run-up to the forthcoming election to a congress of people's deputies.

We are to sum up the experience already gained during restructuring and the accomplishments already made in both home and foreign policies and try to forecast the new-quality society that we are going toward, and that should, in the final analysis, fulfill the historic task of ending man's separation from power, property, production, culture, etc. But it will still be a socialist rather than any other type society.

What is meant in this connection is a fresh analysis of Lenin's heritage, mastering Lenin's methods, Lenin's dialectic, Lenin's political experience. But this does not mean copying and recourse to the previous forms. These are not quotations but learning Lenin's lesson which, incidentally, envisages ridding our notions about socialism of distortions and deformations and strictly taking into account the realities of present-day life and everything positive that has been done over 70 years.

Gorbachev dwelt at length on the decisions and practical measures to implement a radical economic reform and a reform of the political system of Soviet society, to meet the population's vital needs.

Occhetto in his turn gave a detailed characteristic of the new course which the Italian Communist Party intends to offer to its country with taking into consideration profound changes that have taken place in society, in Europe and the world.

The importance of the principle of democracy, of profound democratization of all the processes, institutes and organizations was emphasized as the solely realistic road of socialism. This is the main value.

The interlocutors spoke about the criteria of contemporary progress, about new methods of revolutionary development as regards international and domestic affairs.

The sides exchanged views on problems of the European working-class movement in the face of the creation of a "single market" by 1992, and on the role of left-wing and other progressive forces in the Helsinki process and in the implementation of the idea of a "European home" with the indispensable participation of the United States and Canada.

Gorbachev and Occhetto spoke about the attitudes of various Western forces to the changes in socialist countries, especially about their stands on such an international phenomenon as restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Special attention was paid to the environmental situation and North-South relations, with an emphasis laid on the need to internationalize these and other major problems.

The sides discussed issues connected with the planned visit by Gorbachev to Italy and with the invitation of a Soviet Communist delegation to a forthcoming congress of the Italian Communist Party.

Gorbachev positively assessed the development of economic and political relations between the Soviet Union and Italy at state level.

Both Communist leaders expressed their profound satisfaction with the friendly atmosphere at their meeting, with the mutual understanding of one another's problems and approaches to them, and with the range of issues discussed.

They emphasized that there are no issues that both parties can not discuss with one another. They also said that the nature of these discussions, which at the same time are marked by scrupulous respect for one another's independence, helps both parties in their political and theoretical work and international activities.

Gorbachev asked Occhetto to convey the profound gratitude of the Soviet leadership and Soviet people to all Italians who reacted so sincerely and kindly to the calamity in Armenia and for their aid, support, and sympathy.

The meeting was attended by Aleksandr Yakovlev, Valentin Falin, Anatoliy Chernyayev, Antonio Rubbi, Giuseppe Boffa, and M. de-Angelis.

Occhetto Says Meeting 'Exceptionally Frank'

LD2802162389 Moscow TASS in English 1609 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—"Today's meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev was extended and exceptionally frank. It was held in an informal atmosphere and was of much interest to us," General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party Achille Occhetto told reporters Tuesday.

He is staying in the Soviet Union on a brief working visit at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

Occhetto said the perestroika drive in the Soviet Union has evoked much interest not only among communists but also among all political forces in Italy.

Progress made in this drive is essential not only for the Soviet people but also for the campaign for peace and democracy in Europe and the whole world, he went on.

The Italian communist leader called for the reorganisation of international relations and for a new approach to such global issues as disarmament, security, ecology and relations between developed and developing countries.

Occhetto said he and Gorbachev were unanimous on many issues discussed by them.

He spoke highly of the Soviet Union's strict and consistent fulfilment of its commitments under the Geneva accords on Afghanistan.

However, Occhetto said, the Soviet troop withdrawal does not mean that the Afghan problem has been solved.

The risk of the continuation of civil war in Afghanistan is still great, and the international community must make efforts to prevent bloodshed, he said.

Occhetto, Gorbachev Talk for 5 Hours

LD2802202989 Rome International Service in Italian 1830 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] The Moscow talks between Soviet leader Gorbachev and Secretary General Occhetto, of the PCI lasted for 5 hours. Demetrio Volcic reports.

[Volcic] Mikhail Gorbachev and Achilee Occhetto talked yesterday [as heard] about the problems that can be of interest to a state/party in the middle of a difficult reform like the Soviet party, and to the largest Western communist party, which is involved in defining its new political course. Disarmament, peace, war, hunger, the gap between the North and South; everything is linked and on each of these points the progressive forces are in motion, according to Occhetto. There is full agreement between those who are turned toward the year 2000 on forgetting the camps and the cycles of the past.

However, Gorbachev, who is hoping for a forum of European democratic parties, emphasizes things slightly differently. He still thinks that there is a future for communist and workers' parties leaving aside old-time schematisms. Various types of aggregates do not rule one another out.

Occhetto recalled the Italian Communists' positive view of the democratization underway in Hungary, with the start of multipartism, and criticized the conduct of the Prague government. Dubcek must be rehabilitated. These are statements for which no immediate answer is requested, and Gorbachev took note of this.

The meeting at the Central Committee headquarters lasted 5 hours. Gorbachev expressed his satisfaction over the relations between the two countries, and thanked Italy for the help and the solidarity it displayed as a result of the Armenian earthquake.

Ochetto Leaves Moscow for Rome

LD0103135789 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Moscow March 1 TASS—Italian Communist Party General Secretary Achille Occhetto left Moscow for Rome on Wednesday. He paid a brief working visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Gennadiy Gerasimov Comments on Cyprus Situation

Views Talks With Foreign Minister

LD2402132389 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Nicosia February 24 TASS—A comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem can be achieved through an intercommunal dialogue and under appropriate international guarantees. This was stated at a press-conference here by Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, currently on an official five-day visit to Cyprus.

The Soviet Union believes, he said, that both Cyprus communities, Greece, Turkey, all the UN Security Council members, and also representatives of the Nonaligned Movement should take part in the discussion of international guarantees. The Soviet representative reaffirmed

his country's stand on the Cyprus issue. He stressed that the Republic of Cyprus should remain a sovereign, territorially integral and single state. According to Gennadiy Gerasimov, the Soviet Union was ready to start preparations for an international conference and to discuss with all sides concerned the ways to resolve this important regional problem.

During his visit to Cyprus the Soviet representative had a talk with Yeoryios Iakovou, the foreign minister of the republic, had meetings with leaders of key political parties and was received by Vasos Lyisarides, speaker of the House of Representatives. Discussed during these meetings were the progress and prospects of the intercommunal dialogue, possibilities for a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem, questions of Soviet-Cyprus relations. It was noted that the visit of President Vasiliou to Moscow, scheduled for this year, could be a major contribution to the development of bilateral cooperation.

Calls for UN Conference

NC2402125689 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek 1130 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Administration at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, has stated that the proposals the Soviet Union presented in 1986 for the settlement of the Cyprus issue still stand. He expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to begin preparations for convening an international conference under UN auspices tc resolve the international aspects of the issue. Gerasimov said that the Republic of Cyprus and the two Cypriot communities, as well as Greece, Turkey, and all the Security Council members, can attend an international conference on Cyprus. It also is possible, he said, for other countries, particularly nonaligned countries, to attend. The Soviet official said that the preparations for an international conference can be carried out in cooperation with the United Nations. He added that the Soviet Union alone cannot organize the conference. We would like, he said, the conference to be held as soon as possible because a continuation of the state of suspense will only lead to the consolidation of the problem.

Gerasimov, who was replying to questions during a news conference he held at the Soviet Cultural Center in Nicosia today, said that his country backs and encourages the intercommunal talks and hopes they will lead to results. He added: Nevertheless, we believe that it is imperative that an international conference be held to ensure a real settlement of the problem.

The Soviet official declined to characterize the proposals submitted at the intercommunal talks, and said it is for the two communities to negotiate. The details of the negotiations, he said, concern both communities and the solution must have international guarantees. He disclosed that during his meeting earlier today with Foreign Minister Yeoryios Iakovou, an in-depth discussion was held on the Cyprus issue. He added that Iakovou had suggested ways in which the Soviet Union could contribute further to the solution of the Cyprus issue.

Responding to a question, he revealed that during his recent visit to Ankara, he had raised the Cyprus issue on his own initiative, but added that it had not been discussed. He said the Cyprus issue must be included among the regional problems the Soviet Union and the United States are discussing. He stressed that when he returns to Moscow, he will pay even greater attention to the Cyprus issue and will work more actively for its solution.

Asked when President Yeoryios Vasiliou will visit Moscow, Soviet Ambassador Yuriy Fokin said that the invitation extended to President Vasiliou still stands and that the visit will take place as soon as it is organized in a way that will lead to substantive results and possibly to new agreements to further strengthen bilateral relations. He said: We understand that this also is the approach of the Cypriot side.

NATO 'Wintex-Simex' Exercise Criticized

PM2402132189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[M. Knyazkov "Rejoinder": "To the Bunkers, Gentlemen"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The Russians will soon be "coming" again. They will bear down on West Europe like an avalanche, wanting to snatch its riches and establish their sway over it. Even the date when this will come to pass is known—Friday, February 24. That is the day when the "Wintex-Simex'89" exercises—during which measures to counter an imaginary invasion of West Europe by Warsaw Pact forces are rehearsed—will begin in the NATO countries. [passage omitted]

Let us not delude ourselves. New ideas do not find the going easy. If the "wave" of emergency sessions in which NATO is planning to dabble is the result of a sophisticated flight of fancy, the actual fact that the "Wintex-Simex" exercises are to take place is a reality. And, far from being a consolation, the fact that the military is not taking part places us even more on our guard. The military by virtue of their activity has to be prepared for war, and if they hold maneuvers it is hard to blame them. Here we find a world nuclear bloodbath being rehearsed by political leaders—this means that the entire event is clearly political in nature.

Latin America & Caribbean

FMLN Leaders Cited on Salvador Opposition Meeting

PM2702150089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Cherepanov report: "Broad Debate Needed"]

[Text] Mexico City—Two days of talks between representatives of 13 Salvadoran political parties and leaders of the Farabunda Marti National Liberation Front

[FMLN] have ended in the little Mexican city of Oaxtepec, in Morelos state. The talks, which took place behind closed doors, were intensive and frank.

On the basis of the results of the meeting the delegations' leaders approved a declaration consisting of two points. First: The parties' representatives took note of all the recent proposals of the rebels and pledged to do everything possible to develop the peace process in the country. Second: The sides agreed to petition the country's government in the near future to agree to a meeting with the FMLN with the participation of representatives of opposition parties.

FMLN LEADERS Jorge Shafik Handal, secretary general of the Communist Party of El Salvador Central Committee, and Commandant Roberto Roca shared their views with IZVESTIYA's correspondent.

R. Roca: What we have achieved here in Mexico is a step forward in the process of settling the crisis. For the first time, all the officially registered parties and FMLN representatives sat at the negotiating table. It is a pity that the ruling party did not send to Oakstepek its candidate for the post of president, as the opposition groupings did.

J.Sh. Handal: When, in January of this year, we proposed that the presidential elections set for 19 March be postponed until September of this year, the government refused. But the opposition parties supported us in practice. Then the Army had its say. Its top leaders threatened a coup d'etat. They declared that postponing the elections is against the constitution. At this meeting we put forward a counterproposal—for the 19 March elections not to be held, the opposition parties to withdraw their candidacies, and the country's legislative authorities to exercise their right to appoint a provisional president who would announce a new election date.

R. Roca: In parallel, the FMLN called on the government and the Army to start talks on a total cease-fire and hold elections for a head of state within a 5-month period. We also proposed that independent international observers be invited to the presidential elections. The FMLN also put forward another initiative. It is necessary in a short space of time to reduce the Army to the 1978 level (that is approximately 12,000 men) and abolish repressive state organs. The armed forces themselves should act as the guarantee of national independence and be subordinate to the civil authorities.

J.Sh. Handal: We are in favor of holding a broad debate in the country and reaching a consensus on the most important matters. We believe that the problem can only be resolved on a national basis with the participation of all sides. In the next few months a situation must be created in the country such that none of the opposing sides can go back to military operations.

Castro Thanks USSR Leaders for Anniversary Message
PM2802170589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[Undated message from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and chairman of the Cuban State Council and Council of Ministers, to M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov]

[Text] To Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium,

To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers,

On behalf of our party and government and all our people I thank you for the fraternal congratulations on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution's victory.

I would like to express to you feelings of the deepest respect and wishes for the further strengthening of the indestructible bonds linking our countries and also a readiness to struggle to build an international community in which peace, social justice, and progress for all the peoples triumph.

Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, chairman of the Cuban State Council and Council of Ministers.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Aide Sees 'No Problems' for Leader

AU2802112389 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Interview with Fedor Burlatskiy, "one of Mikhail Gorbachev's closest aides," by Paul Lendvai in Vienna "recently"; questions in English, Burlatskiy answers first in Russian and then in English, with superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Lendvai] My first question: Do you believe that there is a danger that one day we will read a brief report in the press that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has resigned for health reasons; his successor is X or Y?

[Burlatskiy] No, I do not believe that that will happen. There are no problems with the person of Gorbachev. The situation is different. First of all, society has changed. It is now more enlightened and more active. It can compare our own opportunities with those of the West. Following Stalin's death, nobody knew what the West really was. Gorbachev himself is a very educated man. In my view, Khrushchev was not just overthrown because the society and the party were not prepared for such far-reaching reforms. He brought about the fall himself. He engineered his fall with his own hands, so to speak, because he destroyed his relations with party officials, with the Army, and with the staff of the state security service, the KGB. I do not believe that such a thing would happen today.

[Lendvai] So, is this also a matter of intelligence, political intelligence? Is Gorbachev a much more competent politician than Khrushchev was?

[Burlatskiy] Yes, Khrushchev was a very profound political thinker, however, without political culture. I call this phenomenon authoritarian patriarchal culture. You know, in contrast, Gorbachev is a modern personality. He not only is well educated, he knows what is going on in the world; he is interested in everything. He compares the policies of the East and the West, he is interested in youth and in the individual countries. He is an open-minded person. Therefore, I believe that he will be successful. But that is of course not so easy.

[Lendvai] Did he not make any mistakes during the past 4 years?

[Burlatskiy] Well, I admit that political mistakes have been made during this time. For example, there is the problem of the anti-alcohol campaign. That is easy to explain: They were not adequately prepared. Then there is perhaps a certain political asymmetry between glasnost, the democratization process, and the actual economic changes. That is a dangerous problem—this asymmetry. Because if everybody is allowed to criticize the leadership, and the situation in the shops does not change, this may lead to social tensions.

[Lendvai] Could these growing social tensions not be fertile ground for persons who reject Gorbachev's reform course?

[Burlatskiy] Yes, of course. The conservative forces exploit such difficulties, in particular the food problem, the problem of some supply goods, as well as the problem of nationalities.

[Lendvai] You mentioned the Army. What is Gorbachev's relationship with the Army? No officer is happy to be demobilized and to lose his social status.

[Burlatskiy] I am sure that the officers are not happy with such a decision. However, I can say that all our forces in the Army, in the party, possibly in the KGB, and in the entire society are split. There are favorable forces, and there are conservative forces. You cannot say here that this area is good and some other area is very bad. A hard struggle is going on. The front is running clearly across all these various forces.

[Lendvai] So we cannot say that the Army is in favor of or opposed to such a policy, but it is divided.

[Burlatskiy] Yes, especially now that we have new people in the Army, in the KGB, in the Foreign Ministry, in the other Ministries—everywhere it is very important to back Gorbachev's policy, the policy of the 27th party congress.

[Lendvai] Professor Burlatskiy, is this reform only taking place at the top, or also at the middle level or in the broad sections of bureaucracy? According to statistics, there are about 18 million administrative officers. How many would survive, if this course is successful?

[Burlatskiy] Nobody knows that, and above all, nobody has a choice. I would say that there is no doubt that the biggest problem we are confronted with is bureaucracy. We have a bureaucratic, economic, and political system. We have socialism, but it is a bureaucratic socialism. However, bureaucracy, too, is divided. We can say that the initiative for such far-reaching reform, for glasnost, and for democratization came from above, not from the common people. As is usually the case, some bureaucrats supported it, and some common people did not support it.

[Lendvai] Are there some parallels with the situation under Khrushchev?

[Burlatskiy] Yes and no. Yes, because a hard tug-of-war was going on at the time, too. No, because we now are in a different situation. You know that Gorbachev began with glasnost and with democratization. Khrushchev only believed in reforms from above that he wanted to implement himself. In contrast, Gorbachev believes that everybody must be involved in the reforms.

[Lendvai] But not everybody necessarily wants to be involved.

[Burlatskiy] Some do, some do not. In the election campaign, we have seen activities from which we conclude that many people, possibly the majority, back this process. However, the problem is the far-reaching economic reform. I am concerned about one thing—half-hearted reform, for example, half-hearted agricultural reform. I have for a long time believed in a form of management comparable to the family farms and the small cooperatives in China. I think that we need that. But many people in our society, not only in bureaucracy, and even many scientists do not believe in it. They say that our situation is different from that in China, we do not have peasants at all in our country [as heard]. Therefore, sometimes only half measures have been taken in our country, but half measures are practically nothing.

[Lendvai] This also is the case in industry. Could you conceive of a situation in which it would be admissible in the Soviet Union—as it is in Hungary—that 50 or 500 people were employed by private persons or cooperatives?

[Burlatskiy] Yes, I and many people in our country—scientists, and not only scientists—have proposed that we introduce a pluralist form of economy. There would be a state-run sector, a cooperative sector, a family sector, and a sort of individual sector. There would be some competition among all these sectors, and the state-run sector would be changed in the same way.

[Lendvai] Professor Burlatskiy, you said that you are concerned about half-hearted measures. However, that is precisely what is happening. The economists said in the past that a drastic price reform was necessary. Now everybody says that there are very dangerous social tensions, and we must wait until the supply situation has improved. How can you achieve a better supply situation without a price reform?

[Burlatskiy] I believe that we must begin with agricultural reform. That is not so complicated. If we guarantee to every peasant that we will never return to the collective system, and if we guarantee to them that they can use their own capabilities in their family farms, in small cooperatives, or in kolkhozes—if they believe in kolkhozes—and if we then use Western technologies first of all in agriculture, this will be a very large step forward within a short time.

[Lendvai] The usual term of government in the West is 4 years. After 4 years, President Gorbachev has not managed to bring about tangible improvements for the people. You also have a problem with nationalities in the Baltic and Asian republics. Do you think that the issue of nationalities constitutes a possible threat to Mr Gorbachev's position?

[Burlatskiy] The problem of nationalities is a very touchy issue. However, it is based on the social aspect. Many nationalities believe that the other nationalities benefit from the result of their work, meaning their products. That is not true. They are all in the same situation. Then there are other reasons for the nationality problem. As you know, there were punishments and cruel sentences in the Stalin era. This is history, these are historic causes.

[Lendvai] Do you see a way out in Armenia?

[Burlatskiy] A way out?

[Lendvai] Armenia, Azerbaijan, Karabakh.

[Burlatskiy] You know, I think that some decision must be made on a democratic level, first of all, with regard to relations between these two groups of people.

[Lendvai] But can you talk about a decision on a democratic level, although 20 Armenian human rights activists were detained?

[Burlatskiy] This is a special issue. Is it true, or is it not true? Is it a good or a bad decision? By the way, being the president of the human rights commission, I do not support such measures. However, the democratic process is the best process of making a decision—not only regarding relations with the two republics, but the general debates on the Supreme Soviet and other common democratic measures.

[Lendvai] You have economic problems and nationality problems. To what extent is Gorbachev supported on the higher leadership level? The various leadership levels are also divided.

[Burlatskiy] I believe that most members of the apparatus support him considerably, because—and this is very easy to understand—many of them came to power under Gorbachev. In addition, there are no alternatives. Nobody on the middle or highest levels could claim that they had a good and realistic plan about what should be done in our country.

[Lendvai] That could perhaps also have been said at the time of Khrushchev. Nonetheless, there is always a successor.

[Burlatskiy] Yes, you could say that. However, Khrushchev made a lot of mistakes, particularly in personnel matters. He did not support the people who backed the 20th party congress. He introduced such people as Brezhnev, because people had told him that they have a high opinion of him, even though they did not believe in the anti-Stalinist line.

[Lendvai] But Brezhnev introduced Gorbachev. Is it not possible that Gorbachev will introduce somebody who will then replace him?

[Burlatskiy] I do not believe that, because Gorbachev is better equipped for political work than was Khrushchev.

[Lendvai] Would you say that Gorbachev could also survive as a politician in the West?

[Burlatskiy] Survive?

[Lendvai] He would also be successful as a politician in the West?

[Burlatskiy] You know, the first good decisions that Gorbachev made were on the international level—the decision in connection with the missile accords with the United States, the decision on Afghanistan, which is so important for everybody in our country. We have more or less opened up our society and hope that our society will open up for cooperation with West Europe and other countries. This is the best thing that we have achieved during this time.

Lithuanian Draft Constitution Released to Public

LD2802155489 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Vilnius February 28 TASS—Soviet Lithuania's new draft constitution was out for public discussion on Tuesday.

The draft, prepared by the parliamentary commission headed by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee declares that "Lithuania is a sovereign Soviet socialist state within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." It also affirms that "the Lithuanian Communist Party, an integral part of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is the political vanguard of society."

The Lithuanian Congress of People's Deputies, the draft stipulates, shall be the republic's supreme body of state power. It shall elect from among its members a permanently acting body of state power, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet.

The draft's interpretation of statehood and sovereignty follows broader lines than those of the republic's fundamental law now in force. The chapters devoted to the national economy, social development and culture stem from the concept of Lithuania's economic independence. Lithuanian is to be the republic's state language, according to the draft. At the same time, necessary conditions are to be ensured for the development of other languages now in use in Lithuania.

Some of the draft's articles are at variance with the present Soviet Constitution. That is why the Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet plans to submit to the Soviet Union's supreme legislature proposals for corresponding changes to the country's fundamental law.

Slyunkov, Others on Republican Financial Autonomy

LD2302001789 Moscow Maritime Service in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Vilnius journalists Vasiliy Bogomolnikov and Eduard Kosobutskiy report on Lithuanian financial autonomy. The question was discussed at meetings with Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and with economists and scientists. The journalists visited the Lithuanian Gosplan, where its deputy chairman, (Antanas Mevciaitis) said:

[Begin (Mevciaitis) recording] Autonomy would mean a higher living standard and economic potential. That is why we stand for republican economic autonomy and this can only be achieved through financial autonomy. [end recording]

He says he wants enterprises' union and union republican subordination to end. We then hear an excerpt from a conversation at the party-economic aktiv of Lithuania between Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov and Academician Eduardas Vilkas, director of the Economics Institute of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

[Begin recording] [Vilkas] In creating our concepts of republican financial autonomy, we based ourselves on the guidelines of the 19th party conference. We are starting to develop and implement a new concept of socialism in which the most important thing is the human being. The organization in which he works must be economically autonomous. This means it must have a fair amount of economic freedom and responsibility. We realise that all our industry and agriculture and the economy of our republic are closely linked with those of the whole country, the fact that the republic will have economic autonomy immediately produces the question of whether or not you are going to cooperate with other republics. These links run very deep, but unfortunately are not always rational. Only the market will show their rationality. New links will appear and some will stick.

[Slyunkov] There are interpretations when it is said, listen, you can solve these problems internally somehow. In our understanding, how can one create as quickly as possible? Where are the ways and means by which one can create as quickly as possible our real socialist market? Moreover, how can a socialist market be created by the CEMA countries in the nearest future? And so on and so forth. We just cannot isolate ourselves and imagine that we can stand aside from the world division of labor, from all links, world economic links. This kind of platform is being seen, but sometimes other views are heard too. [end recording]

Vilkas agrees, and he foresees a future price reform in which prices are formed through the market.

Estonian TU Passes Resolution on Work Stoppages

LD2802124489 Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 17 Feb 89 p 1

["Resolution of the Estonian SSR Trade Unions Council Presidium"]

[Text] With the changeover in enterprises to self-management, collective work disputes have emerged between the administration and work collectives, and these have

led to spontaneous work stoppages. In this connection a need has arisen to legally regulate the procedure for settling such disputes. On this basis, the Estonian SSR Trade Unions Council Presidium has resolved to propose to the Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to set up a joint working group in order to work out a draft law to regulate the procedure for settling collective work disputes.

Estonian Party Ideology Commission Meets
PM2802162989 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 17 Feb 89 p 1

[ETA report: "Priority Tasks Outlined"]

[Text] The first session of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission chaired by Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary M. Titma was held 16 February.

The commission members concluded that the creation of the commission is essential in conditions of restructuring. The commission needs to become a kind of "generator of ideas" and help the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee to formulate precise tactics in ideological work.

In the commission members' view, the time has come to predict possible future social phenomena, and this needs to be done on the basis of sociological research and expert assessments. An urgent task is to provide a Marxist assessment of the entire history of bourgeois Estonia.

It was decided to create temporary working groups for "blocks" of the most urgent problems for Estonia in the ideological field.

The draft Estonian Communist Party Central Committee proposals on questions concerned with improving interethnic relations were distributed to the commission members. After they have expressed their views this document will form the basis of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee document for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on interethnic relations, the draft of which will be submitted for widespread discussion.

T. Leyto, editor of the newspaper RAHVE HAAL, was elected deputy chairman of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Commission, and S.A. Villo, first deputy chief of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Ideology Department, was elected commission secretary.

Estonian Paper on 'Path Toward Pluralism'
LD2802130489 Tallinn NOORTE HAAL in Estonian 17 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Aivo Kaidja: "Obstruction Is No Solution"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Even now the path toward pluralism does not proceed uniformly throughout the Soviet Union. If in some older union republics the conditions are but maturing toward the system of several parties, then the Baltic republics, for example, can rely on more democratic traditions, which—to be quite truthful—even here were retreated from at certain moments in time (for example in 1934 in Estonia). At the moment the Estonian people have reached beyond the state of a minor, for whom ma and pa speak, and whose welfare the party and the government are guarding.

Undoubtedly the vision of several parties functioning in one (or several) union republics, with only the CPSU in the others may seem strange. Even so, I will stay with the opinion that this situation is possible. A republic which considers itself to be sovereign, or at least endeavors in this direction, will solve such questions independently. This would to no degree endanger the unity of the Union. In fact, several parties are indeed in existence in Estonia, a fact which has not been recognized officially. It is hard to believe that half-legal (or even illegal?) groups functioning on their own are more favorable from the point of view of development than parties functioning within the Constitution. The preconditions of their existence are loyalty to the state and adherence to existing laws. Self-control of no party or state body can be as efficient as the control carried out in the parliamentarian way by the opposition. And not every party needs to be definitely in opposition to the one in power. In many cases the parties could find enough points of agreement to enable them to cooperate. Thus, at the moment, the overwhelming majority of the population support the policy of the Estonia Communist Party leadership. At the time when the people were "monolithic as never before" or "rallied even more tightly around the party," it was in fact the other way around.

However, no public force should pretend a priori to the leading role in society. For this it must receive a mandate from the people resulting from a democratic struggle between the parties, while the winning party would not perform the role of a state body but would remain a force divorced from the state, yet providing impetus. Likewise, a sovereign nation must have the right to leave the leading party without this mandate if it does not justify confidence.

In this connection it is hard to understand why the post of head of state or chairman of the municipality is to be reconciled with that of the corresponding party leader. Depending on the specific individual, it is of course plausible, but setting this to be the rule means consolidating the hegemony of the ruling party.

So that pluralism will not remain an empty word, those with different ideas must have an opportunity to express themselves in print. Rallies and singing alone do not suffice, and meetings too often remind one of competitions in public speaking. It would be too much to ask that Estonia Communist Party publications allow their columns to be diverse. It is also unrealistic, with the present state of printing capacity and shortage of paper, that each grouping or party would issue its own daily.

But how about an independent daily which would reflect, if such desire is expressed, opinions and views of all existing and would-be organizations, without any exceptions? Balanced nature; polemics without edge; without intolerance on ethnic, international outlook, or religious grounds; without running down collective opponents or individuals; without offence and slander; without appeals to force or discredit to the state and its organs—all these would serve as a precondition. [passage omitted]

Journalist Kindles Ethnic Hostility in Latvia
LD2302121389 Riga Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Feb 89

[Text] In connection with an open letter written by Kurmayev, the correspondent for the Baltic republics of the CPSU Central Committee newspaper UCHITELSKAYA GAZETA, published on 26 January, addressed to the USSR prosecutor general, Sukharev, under the heading "State of Emergency (?Situation)," the Procuracy of the Latvian SSR makes the following statement:

As a result of the institution of criminal proceedings regarding dissemination of anonymous letters and writings aimed at kindling ethnic hostility among nationalities living in the Latvian SSR, on 11 January, on the grounds of objectively obtained evidence, an authorized search was carried out in the residence of the correspondent, Kurmayev, as well as at his wife's work place. After considering the great number of materials discovered and confiscated during the search, in the form of writings, documents and other materials, which needed to be examined carefully in the process of investigation, the Procuracy abstained from giving information of this particular matter, and from giving particulars about Kurmayev's personality and the position held by him.

Some of the materials confiscated at Kurmayev's apartment have been investigated, and Kurmayev has been proved to be their author. Interrogation of Kurmayev in the capacity of witness in the criminal case was legally conducted within the demands of the law.

Allegations by Kurmayev that political provocation against correspondents of the central press accredited to Latvia, as well as against the process of restructuring, is carried out by the Procuracy of the Latvian SSR are conscious disinformation made in his own interests.

The position of the editorial of the newspaper concerning this case, by publishing Kurmayev's open letter without checking the facts and without obtaining any report from the procuracy of the Latvian SSR, is surprising.

Further reports on the progress of investigations in the criminal case will appear later.

Avalanches Claim Lives in Pamir Mountain Range
LD2802125989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian1236 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Dushanbe, 28 Feb (TASS)—The gigantic snow avalanches in the Pamir range have swamped three villages at one fell swoop. According to preliminary data, 3 people have lost their lives and 10 have been seriously injured. Dozens of houses, communications lines, electric power transmission lines, and roads have been destroyed. An extraordinary government commission has arrived in the disaster zone; it is making a precise assessment of the scale of material damage. Assistance is being given to those affected.

According to the meteorological service data, there have been heavy snowfalls on the whole of the territory of Tajikistan since 25 February. A particularly large amount of precipitation, exceeding the monthly norm five-fold, fell on the foothills of the Pamirs. A several-meters-thick layer of loose snow has formed at the tops. Having failed to withstand its own weight (the sharp temperature changes played an insidious part here), the gigantic landslide crashed to the ground.

Dushanbe Public Meeting on Tajik Culture, Language
LD2602113189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1259 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Dushanbe, 25 Feb (TASS)—A meeting took place at midday yesterday in the city's Central Square at which the participants advocated a rebirth of the ancient Tajik culture, conferring the status of a state language on the Tajik language in the territory of (the Soviet Central Asian Republic of) Tajikistan, and protecting the republic's natural environment.

Gaibnazar Pallayev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of Tajikistan, and members of the commission on the preparation of proposals on the status of a state language in the republic met those participating in the meeting. They reported that a draft law has been drawn up which will be published in the press and which will be submitted for general discussion. During the conversation, which lasted approximately 2 hours, all who wished to speak had the opportunity to do so.

Student Protesters Concerned Over Tajik Language
PM2602191989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent A. Karpov report: "Concerned For Native Language"]

[Text] Dushanbe—A large rally was held in the capital of Tajikistan on 24 February. Some 5,000 students from higher education establishments in the city gathered in V.I. Lenin Square.

The rally was prompted by reports published in local newspapers on the start of work by a commission specially set up in the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

to prepare proposals for the draft law on state language status and the procedure for language use in the republic. The participants in the rally pointed out that the complex and contradictory sociopolitical processes of recent decades have led to a certain emasculation of the language spoken by the indigenous population and put a brake on its normal development and that this, in its turn, could not fail to have a negative impact on the entire culture of the people.

Addressing those present, G. Pallayev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, members of the commission, and also representatives of the public stressed that there are now no legal or political obstacles preventing the Tajik language from being given state language status. At the same time, it is essential to adopt the appropriate legislation on the application and functioning of other languages and ensure that their free development is guaranteed. The Tajik SSR draft law on language will be published for general discussion. This discussion should be conducted without excessive emotion and bias, creating unnecessary tension.

Crowd Advances to Government House

LD2802124389 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tadzhik 1700 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Summary from poor reception] On 24 February at about noon, youths—mainly high school students—gathered in the town center's Lenin Square and disrupted traffic. What caused the youths to come to the central square? Numerous slogans and placards in their hands read: "State status should be given to the Tajik language"; "We demand the rebirth of the ancient Tajik culture"; and "We support restructuring".

Deputy head of the Internal Affairs Department of the October rayispolkom addressed the meeting. He read out the legal regulation concerning the organization of meetings and demonstrations, and stressed that a 1-week advance notice is required to hold meetings and demonstrations. Since the organizers of today's meeting gave notice to the town's authorities only 3 days before, it was assumed that permission had not been given to this meeting and it was illegal. He invited the youths to observe order and disperse. However, the crowd did not heed this demand and went toward the government house where a commission on the status of the state language of the Tajik SSR was holding a session.

The participants of the meeting were told by Pallayev, chairman of the Tajik SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, that the majority of the language commission members have supported the idea of recognizing the Tajik language as the state language at the republic level in accordance with the law. He said a draft law on languages has been prepared, which will be published for discussion.

Tashkent Conference on Interethnic Ties Ends

PM2702100389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Conference Completed Work"]

[Text] Tashkent, 25 Feb—Questions of improving interethnic relations under modern conditions were discussed at a regional scientific and practical conference which ended in the Uzbek capital today. Scientists and party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol workers, representatives of public organizations, journalists from all the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan, senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, and staffers of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee and a number of USSR Academy of Sciences institutes participated in it.

The following participated in the discussion of the conference issues: M. Khalmukhamedov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; U. Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; A. Dadabayev, secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee; Kh. Durdyyev, secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee; and party obkom secretaries, scientists, and economic leaders.

Slyunkov Visits Tashkent Industrial Sites

LD2702225689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television in Russian at 1530 GMT on 27 February in its "Vremya" newscast broadcasts a 4-minute recorded report from Tashkent by its correspondent I. Abdukhalikov on a visit to Tashkent by CPSU Central Committee Secretary Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov. Over video shots of Slyunkov and his entourage examining a display of agricultural equipment, Abdulkhalikov says: "Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov visited the Tashkent tractor works production association today." The correspondent then goes on to describe the works' production range, which includes equipment for cotton cultivation.

He says: "Right at the entrance of the works, a lively conversation with workers started. It turned out that the social sphere lags behind production. The problem of accomodations still remains the most acute one. The USSR Ministry of the Automotive Industry and local soviets are more concerned with constructing large industrial facilities and regard concern for people's needs as secondary. Such an attitude breeds a host of problems and makes people annoyed.

"Comrade Slyunkov visited the main assembly line. A 60-HP tractor, like the one shown, is assembled here every 12 minutes. An indicator in the assembly shop shows that the production rhythm is being sustained

properly. It was noted, however, that the capacity of the Tashkent tractors do not satisfy the increased requirements of agriculture, because heavy-duty harvesters cannot be hitched to them."

Over video showing Slyunkov walking about the shop and talking to workers, Abdukhalirov says: "The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee visited the association's new construction site—the Tashkent smelting works. A majestic panoramic view opened before our eyes—hundreds of thousands of powerful steel structures and not a single living soul there. This is the second phase of smelting production: It has been mothballed, and it is not known when builders and assembly workers will return here. The first phase was to have been commissioned as early as 1985, but of the three lines, only one is operating today.

"For the last 3 years attempts have been made to commission the other two lines made by the Ivano-Frankovsk smelting equipment works—without success. All this has been hampering the production of new heavy-duty tractors, which are very much needed by agriculture. Yes, during the period of administrative and command management of the economy, quite a few problems have accumulated. Today's open and compelling conversation will help the association's collective in their search for feasible ways to resolve the situation that has arisen. Comrade Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Cental Committee, and other republican leaders accompanied Comrade Slyunkov." The reporter concludes as video shows the production line and Slyunkov and other officials in conversation.

More on Election Campaigns of People's Deputies

RSFSR 23 Feb Presidium on Election

PM2702134789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"]

[Text] A routine session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 23 February. The question of the work of the Moscow Oblast soviets at the concluding stage of preparations for the elections for USSR people's deputies was examined. A report was delivered by I.M. Cherepanov, chairman of the oblispolkom, and the coreport was delivered by A.N. Gerasimov, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

It was noted that the current elections have become a mirror for restructuring. Preparations for them in the capital's oblast are typified by an increase in political and labor activity generated by the CPSU Central Committee appeal to the party and the Soviet people. In an organized way and in close collaboration with labor collectives and social organizations, local soviets are implementing measures to prepare for and to hold the elections. During the discussion, certain shortcomings in this work were also revealed.

In its adopted resolution the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium instructed Moscow Oblast soviets' executive and administrative organs to eradicate these shortcomings. All activity within the framework of preparations for the elections should be closely tied to the deepening of restructuring and the development of working people's creative initiative.

The session examined the preliminary results of the holding of okrug electoral meetings and issues linked with the formation of ward [uchastkovaya] electoral commissions, the registration of candidate deputies, and the holding of meetings between them and voters in the RSFSR as a whole. A report was delivered by S.I. Chistoplyasov, secretary of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Certain other questions of the state life of the republic were also discussed.

The session was chaired by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Marchuk on Platform, Nominations

LD2702132489 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 27 FEB 89

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—correspondent Ivan Ivanov.

The essence of the election platform put forth by Guriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, is to achieve the utmost contribution from Soviet scientists to the political and economic reforms in the country. He was nominated candidate for the Soviet parliament from the Communist Party.

The 63-year-old academician is known in the world as a prominent scholar in computing mathematics and the use of digital methods in ecology, immunology and the nuclear power industry. Guriy Marchuk is an honorary member of national academies in several European countries. Despite a great amount of organisational work in the academy and the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, the academician continues active research work. Saturday is Marchuk's day of "pure science". Sunday is devoted by the scientist to a 15-20- kilometre hike.

If he is elected deputy, Academician Marchuk intends to strive to develop the independence of research centres and technically retool all institutes and laboratories to create world-class potential for all priority areas of science and technology: electronics, computer engineering, biotechnology, power engineering, materials science, etc. "Soviet scientists are now world leaders in several sectors of theoretical science—mathematics and physics. But we lack the scale and diversity of research," he told TASS.

The fact that he has six grandsons aged between three months and 16 years, evidently "stimulates" Marchuk to work for the rejuvenation of scientific personnel. "It is

necessary to establish a system of selection of the most talented, trained and dynamic young researchers to the academy, who would become the cream of world science in several years' time," he noted.

Marchuk has more than 10-years experience of work in the USSR Supreme Soviet. "I believe that the work of people's deputies in it will change radically. We sometimes took formal decisions on proposals which had been previously 'approved' by departments and other high bodies. The election campaign showed that members of parliament will both table questions and will openly discuss and take independent and principled decisions on them," the academician said.

Speaking of the nomination of candidates from the Academy of Sciences, and of the recent demonstration of scientists in Moscow who were dissatisfied with the results of the nomination, Marchuk noted: "Authoritative scientists were nominated as candidates for the Soviet parliament from the USSR Academy of Sciences by a democratic method—by secret ballot. I regard the demonstration as an expression of concern of several people over the insufficient pace of the development of perestroika and democratisation in Soviet science". He said that, apart from members and corresponding members of the academy, it is planned to invite representatives from collectives of scientists who nominated their candidates, to an enlarged meeting of the academy where the elections of deputies to parliament will be held. This will be done to fully take into account the opinion of the scientific community.

Candidate Nikonov Addresses Turkmen Party Aktiv

PM2802114589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Modern Agrarian Policy Is an Important Component of Restructuring"]

[Text] Ashkhabad, 25 Feb—The consolidation of our society's citizens on the party platform and around the ideas of renewal and restructuring is a vivid feature of the present election campaign. The elections will go down in history as a crucial moment in our state's political life. It is understanding of this high responsibility, above all, that determines the frank and interested nature of the candidate deputies' dialogue with voters.

A meeting took place in the Turkmen capital today between the republic's party aktiv and V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU.

It was opened by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee. The next speakers—A. Ezizov, corn-growing team leader on the Lenin Kolkhoz in Mary Oblast's Turkmen-Kalinskiy Rayon; V.M. Mishchenko, bulldozer driver for the "Turkmenneftestroy" Trust Construction Administration and member of Nebit-Dag party gorkom bureau; B.K. Balakayev, rector of the Turkmen M.I. Kalinin Agricultural Institute; O. Khodzhamamedova, student of the Law Faculty at the Turkmen A.M. Gorkiy State University; A. Mukhamedova, first secretary of Iolotanskiy party raykom; and S. Atayev, chairman of the Turkmen SSR War and Labor Veterans Council—said that today everyone's contribution to restructuring is measured in specific deeds and actual results.

V.P. Nikonov addressed the gathering.

First of all, he said, I wish to express to you words of sincere gratitude for coming to this meeting. At this time of a steep turn toward practical deeds in the socioeconomic restructuring of society and the implementation of political reforms there are very many problems, issues, and topics of concern to people. The broad processes of the democratization of society, the real steps to involve the people's masses in the management of social development, and glasnost have thoroughly enhanced people's activeness and their interest in all problems of life.

Just 1 month remains until the elections to the new supreme organ of state power which during the coming 5-year period will determine our country's domestic and foreign policy, direct restructuring, and create a socialist rule-of-law state.

The chief idea of the political reform will start to be implemented: All power to the soviets. All public organizations have been given an opportunity to nominate their own candidates. These processes are taking place on a broad democratic basis in territorial and national okrugs.

Mindful of the exceptionally great significance of the upcoming elections, the CPSU Central Committee adopted the Appeal to the Party and the Soviet People. It sums up the first years of restructuring and sets forth the starting points of party policy for the immediate future.

As a candidate people's deputy from the CPSU, the party Central Committee secretary said, I entirely share the propositions and conclusions of the appeal and am guided by them in my election program and, as a Communist, in my everyday work to achieve the set goals. Proceeding from this premise, he dwelt on some urgent problems of our society's development.

Like any revolutionary process, restructuring has its own stages of development. We are now living through one of the most crucial periods, when the stage of realizing the outlined program of transformations has followed on an analysis of the past and an interpretation of ways to get out of the situation which has taken shape in the country. The breakthrough is only just beginning, and the necessary preconditions for the country's healthy development have still been far from fully created.

While as noting positive changes in the implementation of restructuring, the speaker pointed to the fact that the significance of what has been achieved must on no account be exaggerated. The state of affairs in the economy is changing only slowly. In many ways the economy is continuing to develop extensively. There is no appreciable improvement in output quality. The pace of structural transformations in production and the pace of introduction of progressive technologies are lagging behind the plan. Labor remuneration is growing faster than labor productivity.

Social and economic problems cannot be resolved successfully unless the reform of the political system whose basic principles were outlined at the 19th All-Union Party Conference is implemented.

In this respect this year will be very full. The formation of the new supreme organs of state power will be followed by the start of the next stage of the reform, which presupposes the establishment of more harmonious relations between the center and the provinces.

Soviet elections are to be held at republic and local level in the fall, and the soviets' work is to be improved. Politically sovereign, economically independent, and under the control of the people alone, they will become really authoritative organs. The entire system of power will be transformed with the introduction of local self-management.

The party sees it as the essence of all work to place the working person at the center of the political process, to reveal the Soviet people's tremendous creative potential, and to channel it to the good of socialism.

Going on to touch on improving interethnic relations, V.P. Nikonov reported that a CPSU Central Committee plenum in the middle of the year will complete the elaboration of a modern, integral nationalities policy founded on Leninist principles. Very serious and profound work has to be done at all levels, starting with theory and ending with the formation of state and public structures which will make it possible to take the maximum account of the national requirements of our country's peoples within the framework of the all-union socialist state.

The improvement of our society's spiritual and ideological sphere is on a par with the economic and political reforms. The country's intellectual life is becoming more interesting and more diverse. Education is being reformed, science is being democratized, and public opinion is gaining in strength. The people's historical memory has been awakened, and the past is being reinterpreted with concern for the future. The information situation has become immeasurably more open, and viewpoints are being compared in a lively and free manner.

The party, the speaker declared, will continue to increase the intellectual and cultural potential, struggle to purify society's moral atmosphere, and eradicate corruption, bribetaking, drug addiction, and other negative phenomena.

The CPSU was the initiator and organizer of the changes taking place in the country. The strengthening of its functions as the political vanguard of society and its gradual liberation from economic affairs will make it possible to concentrate attention on formulating the strategy of society's development and urgent questions of domestic and foreign policy and on organizational, political, and ideological work on every specific problem, with every specific person.

The processes of renewal are taking place in breadth and depth, embracing all spheres of life, and drawing millions of people into their orbit. At the same time, the speaker continued, we can all see that they are proceeding in a difficult, complex, and sometimes even contradictory manner. And there are many unresolved problems. Nevertheless, the food problem is the most urgent and extraordinary of them.

The fulfillment of our plans for improving the Soviet people's life, the sociopolitical situation in the country, and, in a wider context, our entire forward movement, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized, depend to a considerable degree on the cardinal resolution of the food problem.

We all see, the speaker pointed out, that for the guaranteed fulfillment of the tasks set in the agro-industrial complex we need to resolve three interconnected problems in all regions.

First, consistently to strive for fundamental transformations in production and economic relations in the countryside, seek to master the lease, and ensure the efficient utilization of the economic potential already created at every farm and enterprise. Second, to create living and working conditions in the countryside which are in no way inferior to urban conditions and which even surpass them with regard to a number of parameters. Third, to continue developing the material and technical base of agro-industrial production at an increased pace so as to make the broad introduction of intensive technologies in crop farming and livestock raising available to every farm and ensure the accumulative process of the scientific and technical revolution in all rural production.

A regular CPSU Central Committee plenum will be devoted to examining these problems. Some things have already been done.

During the 1st 3 years of the current 5-year plan the average annual production of gross agricultural output increased 9 percent compared with the previous 5-year plan. There was an increase in production of grain, raw cotton, sugar beets, sunflowers, vegetables, melons, and

certain other kinds of crops. Positive changes are occurring in all spheres of the agro-industrial complex. At the same time the moves are not yet sufficient to fully meet the population's needs for foodstuffs.

Because of the shortfall in agricultural output, the country is obliged to purchase a considerable quantity of it from abroad every year. Such trade deals for products which we do not have the conditions to produce are natural. But as for grain, meat, sugar, vegetable oil, and certain other products which we can and must produce in sufficient quantity ourselves, we must not tolerate their import either from an economic or from a political viewpoint.

Our party's Central Committee sets the task of raising the level of the country's sufficiency in basic agricultural foodstuffs in the next few years, reducing their import, and more fully satisfying the population's food needs, chiefly by means of our own production.

And here is another question of a fundamental nature.

The inadequate level of development of agricultural production has a negative effect on the country's entire economy, introduces elements of imbalance and disproportion into it, increases the state budget deficit, creates tension in the food market, gives rise to a sharp divergence between effective demand and the supply of consumer goods, and serves as a breeding ground for very negative phenomena.

Over the next few years we must scale new heights in every collective.

As regards specific ways and the choice of the most efficient means of realizing the plans outlined, they were basically redefined from sharp positions at the 19th All-Union Party Conference and will be the subject of careful examination at the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The Central Committee is now consulting on a grand scale with workers and kolkhoz members, farm specialists and leaders, production front-runners, scientists, and party, soviet, and economic workers. A systematic, collective, creative search is on for the most correct and most efficient ways and means of resolving the food problem as soon as possible. On being approved by the plenum, they will become the basis of our practical actions to create a strong reserve of food in the country. V.P. Nikonov analyzed in detail the role of Turkmenistan in realizing these tasks and shared his impressions of his tour of the republic. The audience's attention was drawn to the most important problems facing workers of the agro-industrial complex and their partners.

It is necessary, the speaker emphasized, to radically change the attitude to the creation of the storage and processing base.

We have badly neglected this sphere.

As a result, we lose at least one-fifth of gross agricultural output every year, which means that a huge amount of social labor is just wasted and the country incurs tremendous losses.

Among the many issues of concern to society today V.P. Nikonov particularly singled out ecology and land reclamation. These problems are very complex both for the country as a whole and for the republics of the Central Asian region, the speaker pointed out. The ecological situation—whether normal or adverse—is always the result of man's interaction with nature.

In recent years public opinion has been growing increasingly sharp and has sometimes become simply intolerant when deficiencies and the bad execution of nature conservation measures are permitted for the sake of immediate gain, and then water, air, and the land are polluted and protective forests are destroyed.

Man's habitat is becoming not richer but poorer, and future generations of mankind are probably being deprived of considerably more.

The CPSU Central Committee appeal "To the Party and the Soviet People" states that the CPSU shares the Soviet people's concern at the aggravation of the ecological situation and takes a thorough approach to resolving the complex problems that arise here. A program is being drawn up to improve and protect the environment and make rational use of nature.

In Belorussia, the Baltic republics, the southern Ukraine, the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone, the Far East, and particularly here, in the Central Asian republics, man's link with nature through land reclamation is on a large scale and is realized virtually daily. It is hard to imagine that in these regions we will be able to increase production of food resources and raw materials for light industry without carrying out land reclamation work, including irrigation.

But voices are now being heard increasingly frequently in our mass media, calling for an end to land reclamation work and for the elimination of land reclamation organizations. The people perceive these demands under pressure from facts of gross violations of nature utilization, and they perceive them as just.

But is this so? And do we not pass off the effects as the cause here? It is not land reclamation that is to blame, for without it the life of many agricultural enterprises is simply impossible, particularly here in the south, where man has repeated for centuries: "Water is life."

Take your republic, for example, the speaker continued. Irrigated land, which occupies 2.5 percent of the republic's entire territory, produces 97 percent of crop farming products.

Over the past 20 years agricultural output has increased from R700 million to R2 billion. At the same time grain production on irrigated land has increased 500 percent,

raw cotton production has increased 100 percent, vegetable production 150 percent, and feed production 500 percent. All this has radically changed socioeconomic life in the countryside and in the republic as a whole. Large volumes of work are being done to regulate water use. Over the past 2 years water consumption has been reduced from 22,000 to 16,000 cubic meters per hectare.

On the whole, however, the state of land reclamation remains complex in the majority of rayons; 662,000 hectares, or 52 percent of the irrigated land, is in an unsatisfactory state and requires immediate and radical reconstruction, full restoration, and in some places also new construction of the collector and drainage network, serious work on the desalinization of land, careful planning, and so forth.

A further 20-25-percent saving of water—which is possible and accessible given the present technical means—would make possible a considerable improvement in the situation in the rayons around the Aral Sea and in the sea itself.

The region's economy will not grow unless this is done. But if rational use is made of water resources, a considerable increase in all production is possible. A balanced and considered approach to these problems is needed. Where, if not here, will we obtain cotton—which means clothes for people? Where, if not here, will we obtain early vegetables and exotic fruits and berries?

We are faced with complex tasks, but we cannot delay them, for time is against us. This is why it is so important today more efficiently to master new management methods, develop the initiative and creative approach of cadres to resolving questions, and strengthen labor and technological discipline.

Glasnost, democracy, responsibility, and strict observance of laws are indivisible concepts, and only their unity embodied in the life and everyday affairs of each of us will produce the result on which we are counting in the renewal of socialism's aspect, V.P. Nikonov said in conclusion.

During his stay in the Turkmen SSR 22-25 February V.P. Nikonov had numerous meetings with working people.

On the "Sovet Turkmenistany" Kolkhoz and the "Sovet Azerbaydzhany" Sovkhoz in the Karakumy Canal zone the CPSU Central Committee secretary familiarized himself with the organization of production and of the processing of products. He had talks with lessees.

Great attention was paid to the work of processing and food industry enterprises. In Ashkhabad V.P. Nikonov visited a dairy combine, where during a meeting with the enterprise collective he emphasized the need to expand the range of products and increase production of marketable output per unit of raw material. In Chardzhou Oblast he viewed the construction of a confectionery factory. Note was taken of the importance of this project's speediest commissioning in order to meet the republic's needs by means of its own production.

On the Khalturin Kolkhoz in Chardzhouskiy Rayon the CPSU Central Committee secretary familiarized himself with work on the countryside's social development on the basis of strengthening the farm's economy.

Problems of scientific support for the agro-industrial complex were at the center of attention during a visit to the Turkmen Scientific Research Institute of Crop Farming. Particular note was taken of the need to formulate a scientific concept in opening up a unique region of the republic—dry subtropics—by developing land reclamation.

V.P. Nikonov also visited Chardzhou Chemical Plant, where he took an interest in work on increasing production and assimilating new kinds of fertilizers for agriculture.

In the republic's capital the CPSU Central Committee secretary laid flowers at the monument to V.I. Lenin and the memorial to Turkestan servicemen.

V.P. Nikonov was accompanied on his tour of the republic by S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee; R.A. Bazarova, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium; and A. Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers.

Armenian Council of Ministers on Refugee Issue

PM2802102189 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 11 Feb 89 p 1

[ARMENPRESS report: "In the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has closely examined the question of preventing population migration and providing social and consumer amenities for persons who have left their place of permanent residence.

The session noted that, as a result of the well-known events which took place in the region, a mass migration of the population began in early March 1988.

With the aim of normalizing the situation in the region the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, jointly with the appropriate Azerbaijan SSR organs, issued an appeal on 4 January this year to the citizens who had left their permanent place of residence to show reason, restraint, and high civic responsibility and return to their homes.

Great new opportunities have opened up as a result of the adoption of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the temporary introduction of the special

form of administration in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Now some of the population have returned to their places of permanent residence.

But, as indicated in the resolution, no tangible results have yet been achieved in this work. Meetings with people are showing that fear and uncertainty concerning safety are keeping them from returning to their permanent homes. Questions of providing housing, work and training for the bulk of the citizens who have come from the Azerbaijan SSR remain unresolved.

The republic's government ordered the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers commission on refugee questions, the gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, and the leaders of ministries, departments, enterprises, and organizations to carry out work aimed at persuading the citizens to return to their permanent homes and explaining to them the state of affairs in the republic, the difficult housing problem whereby 96,000 families are waiting in line for apartments and 18 percent of the able-bodied population are not involved in social production, and the fact that these problems were exacerbated even further by the disastrous earthquake, which left more than 514,000 people without shelter and 167,000 without jobs.

It was indicated that work on improving interethnic relations should follow strictly the provisions set out in the speech made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at the meeting in the CPSU Central Committee with USSR Supreme Soviet deputies from the Armenian and Azerbaijan SSR's and his interview for Central Television.

Gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms were instructed to organize, jointly with Azerbaijan SSR representatives, working groups in both republics' cities, rayons, and farms with the aim of formulating and implementing specific measures directed at securing people's voluntary return to their permanent homes. Particular attention was paid to questions of providing guarantees of safety and citizens' constitutional rights, and also to resolving acute social and economic problems.

Gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms, the Armenian SSR Gosagroprom, and other republic ministries and departments were instructed to take steps to free apartments and homes illegally occupied and to restore returning citizens to their former duties in their places of permanent work.

Gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms were given permission to sanction the exchange of housing by citizens by mutual agreement, including exchanging homes belonging to them as private property with tenants of apartments in blocks forming part of the state housing fund.

Permission was also granted to give jobs and temporary residence to citizens migrating to the republic, except for the cities of Yerevan, Abovyan, Charentsavan, Razdan, Ashtarak, Echmiyadzin, Oktemberyan, Artashat, Ararat, and also Abovyanskiy, Ashtarakskiy, Nairiyskiy, Masisskiy, Echmiyadzinskiy, Araratskiy, Artashatskiy and Oktemberyanskiy Rayons. The Armenian SSR State Committee for Labor and Social Questions is permitted to conduct organized recruitment of manpower among the refugees.

The Armenian SSR Ministry of Public Education, the Armenian SSR Gosagroprom, and local ispolkoms were instructed to make sure that former pupils and students are admitted to schools, secondary professional and technical schools, and VUZ's to continue their studies and that children of preschool age are admitted to children's preschool establishments.

The Armenian SSR Ministry of Public Health is charged with organizing the medical care of incoming citizens.

The Armenian SSR Gosagroprom, the Armenian SSR Gosplan, and rayispolkoms are instructed in 1989-1990 to formulate and implement measures to rebuild 18 deserted villages and two sovkhozes for feed production in Megrinskiy, Azizbekovskiy, Talinskiy, Gorisskiy, Sisiyanskiy, Yekhegnadzorskiy, Kafanskiy, Vardenisskiy, Noyemberyanskiy, Aparanskiy and Gukasyanskiy Rayons. In these villages 4,400 housing units, including individual houses, have to be built or rebuilt and social and cultural amenities, agricultural facilities, and other enterprises have to be erected through the efforts of persons migrating into the republic who have no housing or work.

To speed up this work the Armenian SSR Gosagroprom and the Armenian SSR Gosstroy were instructed to formulate general plans of the villages to be rebuilt within 2 weeks, and to incorporate in them the organization of branches of industrial enterprises, rural family livestock units, and cooperatives and to present them for examination by the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers.

Armenian Quake Region Health Situation 'Good'

PM2702115589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA freelance correspondent Captain O. Pochinyuk interview with Major General of Medical Service P. Korotkikh, chief of the Transcaucasus Military District Medical Service: "Barrier to Epidemic"; first paragraph is editorial introduction; date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] With the coming of spring rumors have been circulating among some of the population of the Transcaucasus to the effect that the epidemiological situation in the areas affected by the natural disaster in Armenia is supposedly growing complex. Alarmed people, including servicemen's parents, are telephoning the editorial office and the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA office in Tbilisi. What is the real situation? Our freelance correspondent Capt O. Pochinyuk put this question to Maj Gen Medical Service P. Korotkikh, chief of the Transcaucasus Military District Medical Service.

[Korotkikh] After the earthquake there was indeed increased danger of the outbreak of various infectious diseases. But civilian and military medics are doing everything to prevent an epidemic. The epidemiological situation in the affected regions can now be described as good [blagopoluchnyy]. For instance, there are only individual cases of catarrhal ailments among servicemen stationed in the Spitak Special Region. The same can also be said of the civilian population. In the time since the earthquake only one person has come to the Spitak hospital for treatment for viral hepatitus. Moreover, it has been established that he was infected outside the earthquake zone.

We have compiled health passports for all units and have information on the nature of illnesses among the local population in Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak. Specialists from the USSR Defense Ministry Central Military Medical Directorate Colonel of Medical Service Ye. Semenchenko, Lieutenant Colonel of Medical Service N. Novikov, and Major of Medical Service V. Moiseyev are working with us. Close contacts are being maintained with similar agencies in the Armenian Health Ministry. Servicemen have been vaccinated against typhus abdominalis and tularemia. Disinfection teams have been set up. Special teams are working to exterminate the mice and rats which carry tularemia.

Medical specialists rely in their work on commanders, political workers, and local party and soviet organs. It is only through common efforts that we can ensure a normal epidemiological situation in the disaster regions.

New Members Appointed to Quake Relief Committee

NC2302072389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] The Armenian Council of Ministers, taking into consideration the cadre changes in the republic's administrative bodies, repealed its own decision of 14 December 1988 and appointed new members to the republic's state committee for dealing with the consequences of the earthquake in Armenian.

Vladimir Markaryants, chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, was appointed as chairman of the committee. Marad Serobyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and Levon Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian council of Ministers, were appointed as deputy chairmen.

The following are members of the committee: Granush Akopyan, first secretary of the Armenian Komsomol Central committee; Martin Arutunyan, chairman of [organizational name indistinct]; Usik Arutunyan, Armenian interior affairs minister; Emil Gabriyelyan, Armenian health minister; Gerasim Mardirosyan, chairman of the Armenian committee of People's Control; Melkonov, chief of staff of the republic's civil defence; Vladimir Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers and chairman of the Republic's State Agroindustrial Committee; Vladimir Nazaryan, republic's procurator; Sabir Stepanyan, chairman of the Armenian State Committee for Supply; and [words indistinct]

Embezzlement of Relief to Quake Victims Reported

NC2302130789 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0525 GMT 23 Feb 89

[From the review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN]

[Text] The press office of the republic's Ministry of Interior Affairs in one of its press releases on the fourth page of the paper informs us that (Michael) [middle name indistinct] Zartaryan, the head of the labor team at the Narnavan village collective of Spitakskiy Rayon and the head of the administration for the assistance to the victims of the earthquake, has embezzeled 50 kg of (?coffee) in complicity with one of the inhabitants of the (Ornagan) village of Ashtarakskiy Rayon. The crime was revealed by Khachaturyan, head of [words indistinct] section of the Ashdarakskiy Interior Affairs Department.

Housing Construction Under Way in Armenia

LD2202235689 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Yerevan February 21 TASS—Mass home building has gone under way in Kirovakan, an Armenian city which was among the most hardly hit by a devastating earthquake. All participants in the work to re-build it—teams of builders from the Ukraine, Belorussia, and also union ministries of the medium engineering industry and coal industry—set out to lay down foundations of apartment blocks.

Working together, they should turn over to Kirovakan residents over 300,000 square meters of housing this year. Questions of expediting this work were considered by the commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee at its regular working meeting which was conducted on Tuesday by Lev Voronin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The housing construction rates set are very high. Ukrainian building workers are to commission 530 apartment houses this year, that is almost two houses daily. Some 16,000 builders will arrive in Armenia from the Ukraine to make sure that these plans are fulfilled. All housing space to be commissioned will be turned over exclusively to residents of the earthquake-stricken cities and villages. It would be inadmissible if only a single Armenian family from the disaster zone is left in a tent for next winter.

The commission noted that there has been a considerable headway in the work to restore light industry enterprises in Kirovakan, Leninakan, and Spitak where

15 shops and factories are already in operation. Five hundred million roubles worth of products will be turned out there by the end of the year.

Armenia's 1988 Economic Statistics Published

NC2302072089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] Today's press has published the statement of the republic's State Committee on Statistics concerning the socioeconomic development of the republic for 1988.

The most important indicators of the socioeconomic plan have not been achieved during the year. The failure to fulfill plan goals is primarily due to the serious shortcomings, defects, and errors in the socioeconomic development in various years and to the mass absenteeism from work because of the strikes.

The destructive earthquake caused enormous damage to the economy of the republic, causing suffering to 21 cities and rayons and 342 villages. The earthquake caused 25,000 deaths and injured another 19,000 individuals. The earthquake rendered useless almost 8 million square meters of living space and destroyed or rendered derelict more than 1,200 museums, libraries, cinemas, theaters, sanatoriums, and other buildings. Some 804 km of roads were damaged. It also caused 130 enterprises and firms to cease operations, the loss of R1.9 billion in annual production capacity, and the loss of 82,000 jobs. The earthquake also caused great damage to the agricultural and construction industries. The total damage caused by the earthquake to the economy is estimated at R10 billion.

This is the general picture for 1988.

Compared to the 418-percent [as heard] increase envisaged in the national income for 1988 in the 5-year plan, the actual increase amounted to only 0.10 percent. During the year, production was down by R187 million, which amounts to more than R129 million in national income.

The republic is slow in adopting the social reorientation in the economy. Apparently, the economic reform has not been fully implemented. The economy at present has not received the necessary impetus. In cases where the new economic system has been introduced, the wages of workers and employees have increased substantially, and the production of mass consumer goods increased by R35.5 million in 1988. However, the output of food products has fallen by R46.3 million.

There are serious problems in the areas of social development, scientific progress, resource conservation, management, improvement of the economic mechanism, production in general, agricultural production, capital investment, and other areas. Thus, the republic's economy suffered heavy losses in 1988. The restructuring work needed is massive.

The state statistics indicate that in the current year, the republic's workers must mobilize all of their reserved resources and exert maximum efforts to rebuild the devastated cities and villages and to unconditionally fulfill the requirements of the state plan for economic and social development.

'Inflamatory' Leaflets Confiscated in Yerevan

LD2702135589 Yerevan Sovetakan Ayastan in Armenian 18 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] On 17 February 1989, an automobile was detained on Dzereteli Street for infringement of traffic rules. The occupants of the car were Movses Georgi Georgisyan, Daniel Alberti Hakobyan, and Davit Gurgeni Bichokhchyan.

Printed material of a nationalist and inflamatory nature, and obtained through the use of a printing press, was discovered in the possession of the above citizens during a vehicle search. All three were placed under administrative detention for 30 days in accordance with the law.

The Armenian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs is applying measures for the timely prevention of public order violations.

In recent days, cases have been recorded in Yerevan of the distribution of inflammatory leaflets that carry appeals for marches and meetings in the days ahead.

With a view to enrolling the participation of wide masses of people in these events, provocatory reports are being spread to the effect that such events have been licensed by the appropriate authorities. The Armenian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs wishes to explain that both in Yerevan and in a number of rayons in the republic a special situation remains in force and prohibits organizing or holding any kind of march or meeting. We request citizens not to yield to provocations and to strictly maintain the prescribed order.

Yerevan Commandant Interviewed on Situation

PM2402152489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian24 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Yu. Kuznetsov, commandant of Yerevan City Special District, by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel O. Falichev in Yerevan: "The Special Situation: Forecast for Tomorrow"—date of interview not stated; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Our special correspondent met with Lieutenant General Yu. Kuznetsov, commandant of Yerevan City Special District, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Falichev] Comrade Lieutenant General, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already written about the nature of the special situation and the curfew imposed, as is well

known, in Armenia and Azerbaijan from 2400 hours on the night of 24-25 November 1988. It is 3 months since then. How has the situation changed in Yerevan over that time?

[Kuznetsov] First of all I wish to recall that the imposition of the special situation was a measure that was forced upon us because of the deterioration in the situation in the region in connection with events surrounding Nagornyy Karabakh. Account was also taken of numerous wishes expressed by Soviet citizens, who were seriously concerned that ethnic relations were continuing to become inflamed in the republics. It was necessary to clamp down on hooligan actions and attempts to disrupt the work of urban transport, stores, institutions, and enterprises, and to protect the life and health of people of every nationality.

As time has shown, the measures adopted played a positive role. In the period so far, there have been no unauthorized rallies, mass clashes on the basis of nationality, or open discrimination or oppression of people of a different nationality in Yerevan. The situation in the region today is calm. Outwardly, at least.

[Falichev] Does this mean, Yuriy Kirillovich, that "internally" concealed processes, so to speak, of some kind are taking place?

[Kuznetsov] Quite true. The activists of the "Karabakh" committee have not calmed down. Various rumors and conjectures are spread, inflaming ethnic passions. And it is interesting that the "Karabakh" committee itself, as such, is now merely a smokescreen for its activists. This became clear in the course of the election campaign, when the "informals," nominating their own candidates, called openly for the obstruction and condemnation of other candidates, using unacceptable methods to this end and playing on the masses' ethnic feelings.

[Falichev] You mentioned rumors. Is their influence on people and on the situation in the city perhaps rather exaggerated?

[Kuznetsov] I do not think so. A lie put about by a provocateur can cause a flareup of emotions and ill-considered actions, especially among young people. Judge for yourself. On 11 December, for instance, a rumor was started in the city that a freight train had arrived carrying bodies of people killed by Azerbaijanis. About 3,000 young people rushed to the station. It took considerable efforts to bring them to their senses and explain that it was a vile provocation. Had we lost control over the situation, it is hard to say what turn events would have taken.

Take this example: A rumor was fanned for a long time to the effect that one of the former leaders of the "Karabakh" committee, Igor Muradyan, is being kept in Kirovabad jail in terrible conditions, that they want to transfer him to Baku, that they are torturing him.... On 20 February I was present at an Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau session where a briefing was delivered on this question. It turns out that Muradyan is being kept in normal conditions. No physical measures are being employed against him. However, in order to stamp out idle conjecture, he has been transferred from Azerbaijani territory to elsewhere.

A principled discussion took place at the Central Committee bureau of how there should be as much glasnost and openness as possible on these questions. The people should know everything and form their own opinions about everything. A decision was adopted, for instance, to publish the total number of casualties in ethnic clashes. I can give these figures. In all, 83 people died in clashes, including 48 Azerbaijanis, 32 Armenians, and 3 people of other nationalities. As for Sumgait, 26 Armenians and 6 Azerbaijanis died there, and they are included in the total number of deaths. Sad statistics.

[Falichev] Yet the tragedy could have been avoided if the appropriate leaders had shown the necessary attentiveness and sensitivity to people's needs and social problems at the right time.... It is a good thing that now, as you said, the situation is calm. But you will agree that the curfew cannot continue forever....

[Kuznetsov] You have touched on a sore point. Indeed, the imposition of the special situation and the curfew has played its part. Moreover, we are now obliged more and more frequently to fulfill the functions of the militia, the internal troops, and even the State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate: We arrest violators of public order, drunken drivers... In short, the question of lifting the emergency measures has apparently arisen of its own accord. And, to be frank, every soldier, sergeant, ensign, and officer would vote for that with both hands. After all, many servicemen virtually spent the winter in tents in the city streets. The officers have not seen their families for months. But.... There are circumstances that unfortunately do not yet allow us to talk about lifting the special situation. I have already mentioned the covert incitement in which certain "Karabakh" committee activists engage. And here is some new confirmation of this.

On 17 February a car was stopped on Tsereteli Street for a violation of traffic rules; in it were Movses Gevorkovich Georgisyan, Daniyel Albertovich Akopyan, and David Gurgenovich Bichokhchyan. They were found to be in possession of printed matter of an inflammatory nationalist nature, duplicated by printing press, and this was confiscated from them. All three, in accordance with the law, were detained for 30 days on an administrative basis.

Another example: On 19 February an attempt was made in the city of Abovyan to organize and hold an unauthorized rally. Some 1,000 people gathered with tricolor flags and banners with provocative slogans.

All the same, taking into account the requests of evening students and labor collectives, such as the workers at the "Luys" Production Association, who have gone over to a three-shift work schedule in connection with the introduction of economic accountability, we went halfway to meet them. The curfew was cut by 2 hours, and is now in force from 0100 to 0500 hours.

[Falichev] Could this be the path to further normalization of the situation? The main thing is to progress in this direction. Obviously it must also be taken into account that the elections of USSR people's deputies lie ahead. Would it not be paradoxical for them to take place under the conditions of the special situation?

[Kuznetsov] I would not like to speculate, but it is clearly possible. After all, the special situation was imposed precisely in order to protect citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms. It all depends on the situation in the city.

[Falichev] And what is the population's attitude toward the servicemen patrolling the streets, who are considerably fewer in number now, with less hardware too?

[Kuznetsov] The city people's attitude toward the servicemen is generally one of calm and goodwill. Although there are sometimes excesses, caused mainly by the excessive nervous tension that has built up in many people. The last 2 years have been difficult for Armenia, and this must be taken into account and understood. A positive role was and is played by honest, direct speeches by servicemen at enterprises, institutions, and institutes. For instance, the whole of Armenia now knows Major General M. Surkov, chief of the Yerevan garrison political department, who has spoken repeatedly on republican television. Literally hundreds of people called us on the "trust" telephone number that was given in one of these programs. We answered all the questions frankly, resolved conflicts, gave assistance.... Citizens' appeals are continuing to come in even now, and we do not leave a single one unexamined.

Today the working people are becoming increasingly convinced that it is no use going on undermining the republic's already weak economy and wrecking contractual commitments with endless strikes. This affects the worker's pocket. As for the corrupt elements, a large group of investigators is now at work in the republic, including some from the USSR Prosecutor's Office. I think many of the materials resulting from this work will be published. And appropriate measures will be adopted to restore social justice.

[Falichev] One last question, Comrade Lieutenant General. The servicemen in the units and subunits in your charge are having to carry out for the first time functions that are not usual for our army. Are there any reproaches or complaints about their actions?

[Kuznetsov] There was a case when a man was wrongfully arrested by mistake. We apologized publicly through the republican newspaper KOMMUNIST. The officials who exceeded their authority were penalized. That is probably the only example. On the "credit" side we have far more expressions of thanks and letters of gratitude from city dwellers and new settlers for protecting their legitimate interests and rights.

The servicemen who most excelled and who displayed a high degree of ideological and political training and moral qualities were presented for incentives on Soviet Amry and Navy Day. Among them are officers A. Tatintsyan, A. Simonov, Yu. Dubrovin, V. Lobakov, V. Starshun, R. Karpov, and others. We will do everything in our power to ensure that tranquillity, order, and justice prevail in the city and that the day soon comes when it will be possible to say: "The special situation is lifted."

Baku Commandant Issues Notices on Daily Situation

Arrest for Discord Incitement 22 Feb

NC2402085989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Notice by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 22 February]

[Text] The USSR procuracy and the republic's internal affairs organs continue to take measures to obstruct violations of law. Aghayev Fuat Alekper Oglu, a jurist affiliated with the Legal Consultation Office No 8, was arrested for inciting interethnic discord. (?Kuliyev) Azizali Riza-Ali Oglu, who is the head of the [words indistinct] Assembly Administration No 2, and Sultanova Fatma Aghalar Kizi, who is a saleswoman employed by [words indistinct], were arrested for violating the working rights of individuals of Armenian origin. Criminal charges have been instituted against them.

The inquiry group of the USSR procuracy has initiated criminal charges against the cooperative responsible for restoration work in the Baku refinery, in Shaumyan District, for the (?harm) done to socialist (?responsibility). Together with Babur Murtazov, [words indistinct] and Bayram Oglu Allakhverdi [word indistinct], who is a work executive, (?Ayubov Mukhamad Atamoglan oglu), the head of the cooperative who has been convicted for [word indistinct] and carelessness in the past, incurred a loss of R175,186 for the state by broadening the scope of the cooperative's restoration work on the buildings.

Rakhimov Olgaz Gadzhibaba Oglu, who is the keeper of the [word indistinct] of the physical training association of the trade unions, and [name indistinct], an unemployed person who has been convicted in the past, were arrested for possessing and selling narcotics.

The situation did not change in the city during the day. Peace continued to prevail and no violations of public law and order were recorded.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Violations 'Dealt With' 23 Feb

NC2402085889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0530 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Notice by the Military Command Administration of the Baku City Special District, issued 23 February]

[Text] The Military Command Administration of the Baku City Special District announces that the situation was peaceful during the night. Laws were violated in a number of places, but they were dealt with on the spot.

Comrade residents of Baku: Thank you for your warm congratulatory telegrams. The Military Command Administration warmly congratulates all the (?personnel) of the special district, the people of the city, and the [word indistinct] of the capital on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces and Navy Day, and wishes all of you great success in health, work, field of service, and education for the happiness of our beloved homeland.

[Signed] The Military Command Administration of the Baku City Special District.

Prohibited Gatherings Observed 24 Feb

NC2702112689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Notice by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] There was no great change in the situation in the city today. It was peaceful and no violations of public law and order were recorded.

However, regardless of the announcement that the gathering of a large number of people in one place is prohibited during the special situation, such gatherings have been observed in various places in the city. This state of affairs does not comply with the rules.

I wish to inform the residents and guests of Baku that I shall take the required measures against these developments whenever they occur. With a view to [word indistinct] the residents of Baku who want to change their homes or buy and sell, I will allocate the Baku subway station for use for that purpose on the basis of an agreeemnt with the Baku Gorispolkom. Comrade Kerimov, chief of the Baku City Internal Affairs Administration, and Comrade Lieutenant Colonel (?Khubeysev), military commandant of the (?Kirov) District, have been charged with the task of controlling law and order and organization [words indistinct].

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District.

New Curfews Ordered 25 Feb

NC2602123989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Order by the military commandant of the Baku City Special District No 17, dated 25 February 1989]

[Text] The situation in Baku continues to normalize. This is creating an opportunity for the normalization of work and activity in the city.

A study of the latest situation indicates that the number of the violations of the rules in the special district has significantly lessened. The number of the citizens detained in accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree dated 23 November 1988 is also decreasing. All this has been possible through the improvement of the work of the party, soviet, and law enforcement organs. Public laws are maintained, and the breaching of rules are obstructed through the measures that have been put into effect together with the workers militia squads [Fehle druzhianalari] and komsomol aktivs.

Meanwhile, the work carried out in the work collectives, establishments, and administrations to strengthen interethnic relations is being continued. The measures taken to consolidate discipline and public law and order are being actively supported. The great majority of the people continues to conscientiously comply with the demands of the curfew regime.

In view of this, I order the following:

1. Curfew hours be effective from 2400 to 0500 in Baku City as of 2 March 1989.

2. All performances and physical training arrangements in movie theaters, concert halls, and theater houses end by 2230 in the evening.

3. The free sale of (?alcoholic) drinks be allowed on the basis of the regulations put into effect by the Baku Gorispolkom in the past.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, Military Commandant of the Baku City Special District.

Situation 'Unchanged' 28 Feb

NC2802115989 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0530 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Notice by the Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District]

[Text] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District announces that the situation in the city has remained unchanged during the past

24 hours. No violations of public law and order were recorded. A total of 125 people and 20 vehicles were remanded in custody for various curfew violations last night.

The internal affairs organs of the city are taking measures to expose and obstruct violations of law.

[Signed] The Military Commandant's Administration of the Baku City Special District.

***Paper Profiles Khachmasskiy Rayon First Secretary**
WA18300355 Mosocw PRAVDA in Russian
15 Feb 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by G. Yakovlev "The Faradzhev Principle"]

[Text] Khachmasskiy Rayon, Azerbaijan SSR—When we were returning from Khachmas the first secretary of the party raykom, Chingiz Alishevich Faradzhev, asked the driver to stop. On the left in the smoke from the plant smoke stacks lay Sumgant. On the right the foothills began.

"There it is," Faradzhev pointed to the top of the ridge, "I prepared for my exams for the institute while in the saddle."

"Why in the saddle?"

"I was working as a shepherd, on the sovkhoz, and studying by correspondence in the agricultural institute," he explained. "I never parted from my textbooks while in the saddle."

This was, of course, a remarkable fact for a discussion about the character of the first secretary of the raykom. Later it turned out that this was one of many.... During those tragic days in Sumgant he showed himself to be a man with a capital M. When the sad news spread around about the bloody drama in this young international worker town where people with skilled hands could always find a place for themselves, Faradzhev, the first secretary of the Divichinskiy party raykom at the time, rushed to Sumgant. He rushed there to save the family of a friend, the Armenian Valeriy Antoyan, with whom he had grown up in the orphanage. The excited crowd blocked his path at the familiar entry to Sumgant.

"Stop!" a voice rang out. "Are you Armenian?"

Chingiz Alishevich got out of his Volga and raised his hand:

"I am first secretary of the party raykom Faradzhev. I am coming here to pick up the family of a friend of mine who is Armenian. Is there somebody here who is against friendship?...."

The crowd moved aside. He ran into the building but the apartment of the tailor Atoyan was empty. It turned out that the family had been hidden by neighbors who were Azerbaijanians. After that Valeriy, his wife Alvina, and their two children lived for a month with Faradzhev and the children went to the Divichi school. I heard about this in Baku. And when I was in Divichi I found out that Faradzhev had hidden 40 more Armenian families in a mountain sanatorium, Kala Alty, during those terrible days.

Of course I did not go to Khachmas, a village a kilometer and a half from Baku, to verify whether or not this episode occurred. I was drawn there by something else. Faradzhev had worked only 10 months in the Divichinskiy Raykom as first secretary, and he was offered the neighboring, larger, rayon which was one of the main suppliers of vegetables for the republic.

He was elected unanimously at a conference in Khachmas. They had heard about the secretary from the neighboring rayon—how responsive he was to the needs of the people had how much he had managed to accomplish in a short period of time. So it is no wonder that the AzSSR CP CC at that time received from Divichi residents dozens of telegrams with the request: leave Faradzhev here!

At the organizational plenum of the raykom the secretary addressed those who were sitting in the hall:

"I thank you for your confidence, but without you I can do nothing. I have a restless nature and I shall require that everybody work."

Approving applause rang out in the hall.

The new secretary began to get acquainted in the kindergarten—how was the heating, were there no requests? From the farm of the Pravda Sovkhoz—why do the milkmaids have no recreation room or television set? This subsequently resulted in the first conference of milkmaids of Khachmasskiy Rayon in many years. A candid and pointed discussion was held by 400 women. Many leaders of the rayon and the farms became embarrassed under their gazes when the discussion came around to their daily life and recreation: all they demanded was milk and milk some more.

Then there was a concert of artists from Baku. It was also the first in many years.

On the first day upon arrival in Khachmas I did not get a chance to speak with Faradzhev. We just exchanged a couple of words. On that day he was going around to the homes, which were enshrouded in a bitter silence—15 families in the rayon had lost sons, young chaps who had been flying in a transport aircraft to help neighboring Armenia. Fifteen out of the 49 the newspapers were writing about. It was late by the time he arrived at the hotel, he was tired and depressed. I understood how he felt: he had seen so much sorrow and had had to find such words to lend support to the mothers and widows. One of the deceased had left four children behind.

Another had six sisters... And the secretary had enough kind feelings for all of them. Such was his character—he responds to human trouble be it large or small.

This character began to take form from the custom or principle, whatever you prefer, of keeping always a little bit ahead of things. And here, as you can understand, one cannot do without good advisers and mentors.

But in order to recall them it is necessary to return to the year 1942, when there was a war in progress, and the mother who had just given birth to a son was in serious condition—she ended up in a hospital. And the boy was left in the children's home. In that same year his father died at the front. His mother gradually regained her health without even knowing that the son to whom she had given birth had been, who had been named Chaban after his father's profession, was in a children's home in Shusha, which is in Nagornyy Karabakh. The mother and son lost track of one another for many years.

Chaban's first mentors were Armenians—the director of the children's home, Vagan Arutyunyan and the educator Izabella Tovmosyan. He could see only good in them. On the advice of the director he entered the agricultural tekhnikum and completed it. Well, it was time to start out his new life. The people in the children's home gave him a blanket, some food, and a little money. And Faradzhev went to Sumgant.

"What good is your zootechnician's diploma to me?" asked the sovkhoz director. "I need shepherds. There is no one to graze the sheep. And you have the right name for it."

He worked and he tried.... But the chap could not get rid of one penchant, which is called the ability and desire to deal with people. This is why in the children's home he was elected secretary of the komsomol organization. At that time he was his own inspiration: since he was secretary, he had to provide an example, that is, to be a little bit ahead of everyone else. And here, among the shepherds herding the flocks, he studied by correspondence. The conditions were difficult and took their toll, but he got used to it. He became one of the leaders when he began to receive nine lambs for every 100 ewes. Then he entered the party—when he was 18.

Who does not believe that miracles still happen in life? Not to everyone, but they happen. How else can one explain the unexpected meeting with his mother? In 1962 Faradzhev was sent to a meeting of leading young agricultural workers. He, a young communist, was asked to speak on behalf of the animal husbandry workers of Azerbaijan. He probably had a keen understanding of the problems that were bothering the young shepherds. In the general meeting they asked him to speak in Baku, on republic television.

And a couple of days later he was invited to the Committee on Television and Radio. And they showed him a woman, old beyond her years, sitting in the office in tears. She got up and said softly:

"My little boy!...."

And he recognized his mother from the name she then gave him—Chingiz. Now he lived with his mother in a crowded little apartment. The difficulties were not important. He built himself a bunk bed. Their belongings included a plate and a teapot. He worked as a shepherd, but he frequently spoke before young people. He was elected supernumerary secretary of the Sumgant komsomol gorkom—this was the practice in those years. And he continued to study by correspondence, "in the saddle," mastering the fine points of agronomy.

I saw how agitated Faradzhev became when recalling his former life, his meeting with his mother, his falling-out with the sovkhoz director when he refused to pad his work reports. And at that time I looked over the bookshelves in his office in order to give him time to calm down.

For 7 years Faradzhev was first secretary of the party raykom in Astarinskiy Rayon, the southernmost in the republic. He had a family by the time he arrived there. The first thing he was interested in was how many large families and war and labor veterans were there in the republic? It turned out that there were 1,200 mother-heroines alone, and the total number of large families was 3,000. Benefits were established for all large families and they were given services out of turn. There were 7,000 war veterans and they were also given benefits and komsomol workers were assigned to look out for them.

And the work on the farms also went well—the yields of vegetables and tea increased. In 7 years the wages in Astarinskiy Rayon as a whole increased from 120 to 220 rubles. Gas was brought in to the residents of many villages, and children began to receive food free of charge in all the schools. Faradzhev was proudest of the changes in the life of the people. I was leafing through a photograph album. There were the field camps build out brick in a delicate pattern. There were the abandoned where, by a decision of the rural assemblies, they opened a children's library, a picture gallery, a poetry club, and a house of youth. Through their own forces. And they preserved the nobility of the design of the old architects. This is what he left in Astar.

His head was full of plans, but initiative really is "punishable." It was recommended that Faradzhev with his bold plans be sent to Divichinskiy Rayon, the most backward and most neglected by previous leaders, which was called in the forum nothing other than the "disgrace of the republic." Oh, where have you ended up, Chingiz! In a hundred villages there was not a single bath, not a single house of consumer services; in 60 villages there

were no clubs; in 20 the water was brought in in trucks; and in five of them the people sit in front of kerosene lamps just as they did before the war ended.

Faradzhev drove around the rayon and was amazed: "How can they be so indifferent to people?" They had already lost faith in changes. Wherever he went the old-timers and activists gathered. He told them all the same thing: "We shall do it all with our own hands." They asked for "extra pipe" from Azneft and the specialists marked the routes. When he arrived in the village of Zeyvo he gathered the residents and the first secretary took a spade in hand. Now it is difficult to believe, but in a half month they laid 13 kilometers of pipe, and to their great joy—water came to the village. In the neighboring village of Eniblat the relieve is more complicated, and the residents worked for a month and a half before the 8-kilometer water line could be put to work. It took 20 days to bring electricity to the village of Chinarlar...

Nothing but miracles. But Faradzhev believes strongly in the proven rule: rely on the people in everything and you yourself will be a little bit ahead. Why had they put up with and become accustomed to the dirt here? The raykom and rayispolkom declared the holiday of the street of the 26 Baku Commissars where it was difficult to walk without boots. There was another competition for the best kept house and yard.

I walked with Faradzhev through this street. And we did not meet a single person who did not greet him joyfully. Then we went into a surprisingly attractive, eastern type of brick building located on a broad street as if stepping out from the pages of ancient books. I noticed it when we were still traveling from Baku to Khamchas. They say that there is nothing like it in any other rayon. There is a spacious, comfortable hall, colored windows, a molding around the ceiling, and stained glass windows. Elderly people sat at tables with teacups in front of them. And again everybody greeted Faradzhev, shook his hand, and asked about his health.

At that time the Baku driver did not answer the question of what kind of a building this was. It turned out that the House of Elders was built in a couple of months. And what is interesting is that Faradzhev drew the sketch himself. There was much else to be heard over tea here. For example, how when Faradzhev came here he suggested planting the tomatoes earlier than they had been used to doing it. "No, it will not work," the Divichinskiy residents had their doubts. Then the secretary and his wife, Mukafat, and his daughter, Sevda, took 4 hectares of land and obtained 30 tons of tomatoes from each, and they were ripe 20 days earlier than the others in the rayon. At his request, the first 120 tons were sent to the tables of Muscovites.

The rumors preceded the secretary. This is why they elected Faradzhev unanimously in Khachmasskiy Rayon. Well, the problems were the same. Only on a larger scale. There were especially many mistakes in the social sphere. In the majority of population points there were no baths and every third village did not have a club. There were almost 1,000 families waiting for apartments. Public catering had to be organized; they had even forgotten how trade with what was available at the bases and in the stores. The raykom secretary is bothered by the fact some of the Armenian families left for Krasnodar Kray. "I will go there myself and persuade them to come home..."

As before, the local elders supported him. They went through the apartments and buildings to the Armenian families and they went to the schools: "You are our brothers and we shall not allow you to leave your homes." Ten families have already returned—out of the 30.

What have they managed to do already in the new year? They held a gathering of animal husbandry workers. The people raised many problems before the raykom authorities. On Saturday when I went back to Khachmas again Faradzhev was not there. He was in a meeting.... with the trailing workers of two competing sovkhozes—imeni Dzhaparaidze and 26 bakinskiky komissarov.

On the little table in the secretary's office I saw two cardboard models—a tea house and a house for the intelligentsia. This means that they will appear in Khachmas soon.

I asked which forms of communication Faradzhev considers the most effective. He was surprised at the question: of course, personal contacts and direct conversation. Not from a podium, but face to face. We must not be separated by assistants and polished tables. We must go to the people with the true word of the party.

The import of his ideas is directed toward the main thing—to facilitate the conditions for the labor and life of the people, to beautify the streets and homes of the rayon center and the villages. The Khachmas residents are already proving themselves in their work. "We shall surge out ahead of the rest...." I believe that this will happen.

NKAO Administration Committee Members Meet

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[From the republican press review]

[Text] A KOMMUNIST correspondent reported this morning on the meeting held at the rayon cultural center with (?Sidorov), member of the Azerbaijan SSR Nagorno-Karabakh Special Administration Committee. The meeting was opened by Vagif Seferov, [words indistinct] and first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party [word indistinct] Committee and member of the Special Administration Committee. He discussed the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, the work that has been carried out in accordance with the decision adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee in

connection with the duties of the republic's party organization to remove interethnic discord as called for by the outcome of the meeting held at the CPSU Central Committee, and the pending tasks.

(?Sidorov) briefed the meeting on the work of the committee, the steps taken to remove interethnic discord, and the measures put into effect to improve the social and economic life in the rayon. He also replied to the questions put to him by the meeting participants.

*NKAO Committee Member on Committee's Role

WA18300360 Moscow TRUD in Russian
19 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with V.M. Mishin, CPSU Central Committee member, AUCCTU secretary, member of the NKAO Special Administrative Committee, by special correspondent V. Knyazev : "Nagorno-Karabakh: A Time of Hope"]

[Text] [Knyazev] Viktor Maksimovich, exactly a month ago the Special Administration Committee set up in compliance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium began to operate in Nagorno-Karabakh. This is the first time that this form of leadership has been set up in one of the country's regions. I think that TRUD readers are probably aware of why this was done. So what problems is the committee now trying to solve? What has it managed to do?

[Mishin] I believe that we should recall, if only briefly, the reasons for the creation of this committee. For this is the first time that a special form of administration has been set up here. And this was a necessary step. In fact, the situation in the region deteriorated so much that there were open interethnic clashes. Fearing for their lives more than 200,000 people from Armenia and Azerbaijan abandoned their homes and essentially became refugees in their own country. Sad as it is we have to employ this word from the lexicon of war even today. And there are now more than 5,000 people in the NKAO in need of housing and work. One cannot avoid the truth.

It is also true that the former leadership in Armenia and Azerbaijan was unable to change the situation radically through its own efforts. It could not cope with the tense situation that arose in the party oblast and soviet organs. The popular movement for restructuring and the renewal of life came under the influence of self-styled leaders who called for inter-ethnic confrontation and open sabotage. This is why the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was also forced to introduce a special form of administration and suspend the activity of the oblast soviet of people's deputies.

How did the committee start its work? You will understand that we face more than enough problems. And not only ethnic but also social and economic problems. The following fact alone says much: Even in the oblast center, in most local housing developments drinking water is available only for one-and-a-half to two hours each day. The inhabitants have no hot water at all. People in Stepanakert have been on the waiting list for apartments for many years. Public health, education and culture are in a neglected state. During the period 1981-1985 state and cooperative enterprises in the NKAO received much less funding for capital investment than the average for the republic. Over three five-year plans only 12 percent of the housing planned was actually built. Were the construction workers working poorly? Undoubtedly. But we cannot close our eyes to something else: in 1987 alone they experienced a shortfall of 38 percent for cement and 22 percent for prefabricated reinforced concrete from republic funds. In short, the oblast was pushed into a socioeconomic blind alley. It was precisely this neglect of people's fate and violation of the principles of truly Leninist national policy that led to a situation in which today a special administration has been set up in the NKAO.

Among the first steps taken by the committee was accelerated work to reconstruct the water-supply system for Stepanakert and find new water sources, and set up processing enterprises for the agro-industrial complex and its own real construction base. Detailed work is under way on measures to expand individual housing construction. Additional tracts of land are being allocated for this and extensive trade in construction materials is being organized. Already today, on most of the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh television and radio broadcasts are being relayed not only from Baku but also Moscow and Yerevan, and from Stepanakert itself. And a protocol has been signed with the USSR Ministry of Communications to set up during 1989-1990 five relay stations for stable reception of television broadcasts in all parts of this mountainous region, create a modern telephone network for the oblast, and set up regional communications networks and introduce reliable postal services. It has been decided to organize in Stepanakert a new printing enterprise with a powerful newspaper and journal base.

At the request of the committee representatives of the USSR Council of Ministers, the USSR Gossnab, the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and the ministries of light industry, communications, public health, and land reclamation and water resources have already visited the NKAO. With their participation a unique kind of expert assessment has been made in all spheres of socioeconomic life in the oblast. Nonstandard, realistic solutions have been found for urgent problems and measures defined for assistance for Nagorno-Karabakh from all-union departments.

[Knyazev] You are one of the 11 members of the special administration committee. For what specific sector of work is the AUCCTU secretary responsible?

[Mishin] For organizational party and personnel matters, the activity of the trade unions, Komsomol and other public organizations, and also the social sphere, including public health. The extremely poor material

base for the medical establishments and high infant mortality are causes of special concern. This is why it has been deemed expedient to locate in one of the newly erected buildings in Stepanakert not the engineering and laboratory facilities of a construction trust, as was planned, but an up-to-date diagnostic center. Public health projects, schools, children's preschool establishments and housing will be built in the city and in the countryside on a priority basis. Supplies of drugs and medications for the oblast will be improved. People should start feeling the practical concern for them in the very near future.

[Knyazev] What can you say about the situation today in the NKAO? For the curfew has still not been lifted and military people are patrolling the streets. Reports are regularly being published in the local press about violations of public order and even about guns being confiscated.

[Mishin] Let me remind you first of all that additional troops were sent to the oblast at the insistent request of the NKAO leadership following the events in Khodzhala village in Askeranskiy rayon. In just 3 days dozens of crimes were committed for ethnic reasons. Thanks to the efforts of the internal troops and troops of the Soviet Army the bloodshed, pogroms and burnings were stopped. It was this also that led to the introduction of the emergency situation in the NKAO and the curfew. Since then not a single ethnic crime has been recorded. But during the same time almost 3,500 shotguns, dozens of home-made grenades, pistols and considerable amounts of explosives and detonators have been confiscated. And even today citizens of Armenian and Azerbaijani nationality often keep and carry guns.

Some people are still trying to hand out leaflets calling for new strikes. And sometimes people are succumbing to instigation. But let us examine, for example, what happened to the people of Stepanakert during last year's strikes. Of 35,000 square meters of housing they received only 2,500 square meters, and as a result 1,600 families failed to obtain new housing. Not one single school or hospital or preschool establishment was built. And for what did families lose R4 million in wages? But some rubbed their hands even at this. Thus, the former leaders of the Stepanakert construction materials combine were arrested.

The process of purification is not simple. Nevertheless, today the situation at all populated points in the oblast is improving. Places of entertainment are operating, the curfew has been cut to a minimum and the streets and roads have become quieter.

[Knyazev] Viktor Maksimovich, I would like to share with you as an AUCCTU secretary this observation of a journalist: In my opinion by no means all trade union committees in the oblast have become real organizers of restructuring and defenders of the democratic rights of the workers, and they are sometimes allowing in elements showing nationalistic parochialism. The trade unions of the NKAO did not manage to find their own worthy place in the complicated period when the oblast was gripped by strikes last year. What can you say about this?

[Mishin] Yes, under the extreme conditions many shortcomings came to light in the work of the trade union organs in the NKAO. They must assume some of the blame for the fact that year after year many of the industrial enterprises have failed to meet their collective agreements. Especially in part in social development and work safety. At some plants and factories the workers are being poorly fed in the dining halls. There are the same years of waiting for housing and the horrible hostels at the silk combine. And the trade unions have looked at all this calmly and in a best case scenario have limited themselves to accepting paper without dismissing even a single unworthy leader and without raising their voices in defense of the working man.

The central trade union committees must also make a self-critical assessment of their role. They are doing a poor job in presenting the life of the labor collectives of the oblast and have failed to help in solving the urgent socioeconomic problems or predict the future. We must draw our conclusions from this.

Even now the trade unions in the NKAO are still acting quite timidly. They occupy themselves more with establishing the facts. Take, for example, the monitoring of trade operations. The snap inspections are made but no more products and goods appear on the shelves. As before, shortages are pushed off to the side. And there are shortages—there are bread lines. Where else can such things still be seen today?

As I have already said, the inter-ethnic conflict forced many people to abandon their homes and work. Should the trade unions and oblast trade unions not be finding a way to the hearts of the resettlers and sending them back to the enterprises and guaranteeing calm labor? The trade unions, however, are in no rush to show activity here or assume responsibility.

The situation has long demanded that the trade union leaders rally people and hasten the search for ways to switch to cost accounting in the oblast, giving due consideration to natural and geographic and national historical and economic features of the NKAO. The trade unions should enhance their own authority with a specific solution for these painful social problems.

[Knyazev] Viktor Maksimovich, how do you see the future of Nagorno-Karabakh? For in terms of its climate and healing properties this place is unique.

[Mishin] I have heard that the local air is as good as the mountain air in Switzerland. I am prepared to believe that. Even now, in winter, the local sights here are wonderful. There are healing sources and it is a rare day

when the sun does not shine. I believe that the future of this area is largely for sanatoria and rest homes and as a center for tourists and young people and a health resort center.

But for today our task is do everything possible to bring the population back to a normal life and instill in people a confidence in tomorrow, and impart dynamic acceleration to the socioeconomic and cultural development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast.

***Writer Reviews Economic Affects of NKAO Unrest**
WA18300354 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 Feb 89 pp 1,3

[Article by Mirza Ibragimov, national writer of Azerbaijan, winner of State Prizes: "To Whom Do We Listen and Why?"]

[Text] *The approaching evening cast its shadows over Karabakh land. And as people walked from Stepanakert in the direction of Shusha they picked up their pace in order to arrive at their destination by nightfall. But suddenly the people stopped and fell guardedly silent. An equally motley crowd was headed in their direction from Shusha. For a moment the Armenians from Shusha and the Azerbaijanis from Stepanakert did not move, as if staring at each other face to face.... Then they began moving and ran to meet one another, recognizing their neighbors and long-time friends.... But night was approaching and they had to hurry.... The crowd divided into two streams: One pushed in the direction of Shusha, and the other to Stepanakert. What was it, what invisible force dispersed them this way in different directions? Why did that crowd which for a moment was unified split and break up in this way?...*

At that time when at the very beginning of the year events flared up in Karabakh, far from everything was clear to everyone. Many people were simply confused. A sense of the absurd gripped everyone who was not aware of the state of affairs in the two republics—Armenia and Azerbaijan—who, of course, could not see behind the anger, pain, and frenzy the motives that predetermined the social explosion and made it grow and extend far beyond the the borders of the NKAO. General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev when in an interview at the Yerevan airport he said that the Karabakh problem had been ripening for a long time and that it had been aggravated by the fact that the former Azerbaijani leadership had been conducting an incorrect policy with respect to the local population and had acted in a way that was far from the spirit of Leninist traditions and was simply inhuman.

The general secretary conveyed the essence of what happened in Azerbaijan. Unfortunately, the previous leadership was concerned not so much about the condition of the economy, socio-cultural construction, and the concerns and needs of the working man as about their own aggrandizement. Hence the distorted figures and the imitation of success in all areas of life which, to the surprise of the people, were not only not condemned by the central authorities but were in all way encouraged by bonuses, challenge banners, and medals for outstanding service which in essence did not exist. In the figurative expression of L. I. Brezhnev, "Azerbaijan made broad strides." But in which direction? Toward the abyss, toward the tragic events in the NKAO, in Sumgait, and in other places.

The former first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom was also a member of the ruling elite. Words about patriotism and love for the people never stopped flowing from his mouth, but in reality? In reality he never lifted a finger to help the people on the territory that had been entrusted to him. And yet it was not only the Armenians who lived so poorly; the Azerbaijanis were also in impoverished circumstances. I had occasion to visit Karabakh and met with my friends, simple workers, both Armenians and Azerbaijanis, and I heard their complaints about their daily life. In many villages there were no roads (are there are none still), there were no baths, bakeries, or medical facilities. The people were left without medical aid. The schools were housed in old mosques and other unadapted premises. And what is the pathetic condition of the historical architectural monuments?

The Karabakh residents did not remain silent. They demanded that measures be taken, but there, at the top, instead of listening to the just voice of the people, they took measures...against those who were dissatisfied. "Demagogues," "dissidents," "slanderers"—what labels did they not hang on them. And since they were slanderers, the discussion was brief—suppress them! So these voices that stood out from the organized chorus of praises were hushed. And the more "uncompromisingly" the previous republic leadership fought against those who disagreed with them, the more dissatisfied people there were. Is there any need to prove that this could not go on for very long? The tension reached the critical point with the onset of the period of glasnost. The people became bolder and started to speak more loudly demanding changes. But the republic leaders continued to rest on their laurels. But the most surprising thing is that these demands did not reach the leaders themselves. It is as though they did not see, they did not know they were sitting on a powder keg...

The explosion resounded with such force that it was heard on all continents. What seemed to be a local fire that had broken out soon spread throughout the Transcaucasus. Pogroms, murders, meetings, strikes—many people were drawn into these events.

The former leaders left the political arena for good, leaving us with a confused clump of social, political, economic, and national problems. But the anti-restructuring forces did not leave the battlefield. The people who prospered at the expense of the workers and took bribes, who essentially usurped Soviet power—these bigwigs of the shady economy took advantage of the people's dissatisfaction, and began to set the people

against one another and to sow national dissension. Unfortunately, they succeeded in doing this to a significant degree. And the more the ideas of restructuring became ingrained in our lives, the more actively they resisted, striving by hook or by crook to retard the rates of renewal of the economic, social, and spiritual life of the republic. The new leadership of the Azerbaijan SSR Communist Party CC adopted a policy of decisive renewal of the personnel corps, a breakdown of existing clans, and the removal of people who were undeservedly holding positions and had lost their authority and the confidence of the masses.

But the dark forces began to operate by covert methods. They played on the most primitive feelings, and nationalists and extremists in Lenin Square in Baku shouted slogans that had been prepared for them beforehand by anti-restructuring forces: "Azerbaijan only for the Azerbaijanis," "Down with the Armenians!" The people, of course, did not share these narrow-minded positions. The hopes of raising a commotion in Baku were not fulfilled. The bolshevist spirit of the Baku worker, internationalist traditions, at whose source stood the Baku commissars, traditions of kindness and agreement—these comprise the spiritual bastion that helped us to hold out and not be taking in by the hysterical preaching.

We still have to figure out who was behind the shouters and who sent the orators to the square. But the were there and still are, from both one side and the other. High sounding words about freedom, honor, and justice did not prevent Manucharov and his stooges from engaging in dirty machinations and robbing their compatriots by forcing them to pay three times the fair price for tombstones. The "friends of the people" were robbing the people, earning easy money from human sorrow. The investigation has already established that these two-faced thieves, nationalists from Karabakh, had connections with dealers in Baku, two-faced Azerbaijanian nationalists. Here is where the real money is. And this is yet another eloquent example which, as they say, requires no commentary. Inflaming nationalist passions, the mafia in the city of Sheka—they were threatened with being unmasked for grand theft and other extremely serious crimes—organized an armed attack on the police and the prosecutor's office in order to steal some incriminating documents. It still has to be explained why they were being kept in the basement of a Baku department store (Detskiy Mir) and why there were fire arms in the homes general security guards.

Millions of people in the republic saw on republic television the trial of a group of dealers from the Baku haberdashery plant. The swindlers pocketed several million rubles. The thieves became so impudent from their long period of impunity that they even stopped hiding and concealing their loot from the eyes of strangers. They were living high on the hog: cars, dachas, servants, apartments crammed with expensive second hand goods taken from the firm, voyages abroad. All doors were opened for their children who were spoiled brats. And their wives? They even showed off their finery in court. The impudent behavior of the thieves and the members of their households was no accident. For a long time they had powerful protectors.

Corruption knows no national distinctions. It has no homeland. The homeland for it is like a lemon from which juice can be squeezed—and it makes no difference who the partner in the theft may be—Azerbaijanians or Armenians, Russians or Jews, as long as they have the same purposes. Such is the simple philosophy of the thieves, regardless of the eloquence in which they may be clothed.

I do not believe in the selflessness of the traders who sent their cars filled with all kinds of food to those who were meeting on the square. It is symptomatic that during the first days when common sense was being expressed on the square in Baku, it was as though the traders did not know what was going on. But then the picture began to change: the initiative began to be taken over by extremists who gave ultimatums and openly attacked those in the republic who were in charge of the uncompromising battle against the enemies of restructuring, bribe takers, and bureaucrats. That was when the Baku speculators and retailers began to "hear" the seething square. They heard and they—loosened their purse strings: they began to supply the organizers of the anti-Soviet mobs with food and money. The food stores were not operating in Baku and many restaurants were closed—but their workers continuously supplied the people in the square with everything they needed. The bigwigs of the shady economy, which had placed the pocketbook above the homeland and moral values were suddenly transformed into "ardent patriots" and became the spokesmen for the hopes of the Azerbaijanian people. But in fact the traders were battling the new leadership and giving a show of force: you leave us alone and we shall leave you alone... The previous leaders lived in harmony with us, and you will have to as well—we shall not give an inch of what we have taken. This whisper could be heard clearly over the shouts of the extremists.

Some people may not agree with me and will say that they really helped the demonstrators. But why did they not show such generosity and sensitivity to those who were actually in need of charity? I have in mind the refugees from Armenia. The government of the republic and the party organizations are doing everything they can to make things easier for them. They have turned over sanatoriums, houses of recreation, and even clubs to house them. The population of the republic are helping the refugees but there is still not enough money. It is easy to say that it is necessary to feed 160,000 people. But the traders are in no hurry to loosen their purse strings for this... I think they are cheating and short-changing the refugees just as they did the people from Baku....

It is a great pity that at one time the people in both Baku and Yerevan believed the shouters and extremists. They are now taking a more sober look. But this sober look

cost us a great deal and it was very late in coming. Party and soviet organizations, the mass media, and we, the writers, are all to blame here. I do not recall a single significant work in Azerbaijanian literature of recent years which could unmask the petty bourgeois danger of nationalism. And what is especially troubling is that the people of intellectual labor also followed the nationalists and underestimated the destructive force of their demagogy which was based on an appeal to dissension and hatred.

I do not think that there are any large or small nations. And the most senseless and harmful occupation today is to artificially extol our nation, to single it out from other nations in our common home. This can generate nothing but arrogance and haughtiness, and these are the worst fellow travelers along the path selected by mankind in our difficult age. The paths to mutual understanding and peace on earth. For centuries the nations of Transcaucasia shared their hospitality and their hearths (the Azerbaijanians have an expression that shows concern that the fire on the neighbor's hearth does not die out). Now we must do everything necessary so that our fires do not die out, so that everyone in our country will live equally well, regardless of their nationality.

This simple idea should become immutable. But the efforts of the enemies of restructuring have not disappeared without a trace. Today because of mass refusals to go to work, Azerbaijan industry has failed to produce more than 170 million rubles' worth of products, including in Baku where the shortage amounted to 100 million rubles. The level of fulfillment of contractual commitments has dropped sharply. In November alone the volume of products that were not delivered 119 million rubles. Not only the republic's industry but also automotive transportation and construction organizations have ended up in a difficult position. A critical situation has developed in Nagornyy Karabakh. In spite of the fact that the oblast was allotted significant funds for socioeconomic development, they have failed to introduce a single square meter of dwelling space or a single school... So how much more will we have to pay for the confrontation? The temporary introduction in Nagornyy Karabakh of a special form of administration gives us hope that the situation will normalize. The tragic earthquake in Armenia will require of the entire country an immense exertion of efforts and an immense amount of resources. So let us leave our mutual complaints, disputes, and offenses in the face of this immense disaster. Let us recall that lofty goal that joins us together. And let us not allow the dark forces to move us from our path.

Discussion With Ukrainian 'Defenders of Rights'

AU2202060189 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 9 Feb 89 pp 3-4

[Report by PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondents Mikhail Derimov and Zhanna Rudenko: "Who Makes Use of Whom, or the Journalistic Ethics of 'Publishers' in the Ukrainian Helsinki Association"]

[Text]

A Meeting in the Hotel "Lvov"

"Well, this is Vyacheslav Chernovol, editor of the samizdat journal UKRAINSKYY VISNYK, and...."

"Just a moment: chief editor of this journal, if you please," the concerned partner in the conversation specified his function more precisely. "I am also in charge of the Press Service of the Ukrainian Helsinki Association [UHA]. And this is Mikhail Goryn, member of the UKRAINSKYY VISNYK editorial board and UHA executive secretary. I would also like you to note one more thing: Russian-language newspapers write my name incorrectly 'Chernovol,' and not 'Chornovil.' When the name is spelled correctly, 'o' follows 'ch', and 'i' follows 'v'."

Although this spelling of a Ukrainian family name in a Russian text does not exactly meet the rules of orthography, we promised the samizdat chief editor to write his name the way he wanted.

What prompted us, PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondents, to meet these people in Lvov?

In recent times, the broadcasts of the well known radio station "Liberty" have more and more frequently been carrying "information from the Ukraine," with references to the aforesaid "UHA Press Service" and UKRAINSKYY VISNYK, as well as to Vyacheslav Chornovil, Mikhail Goryn, and other members of the group that assumed the name "Ukrainian Helsinki Association." Carbon-copied "leaflets" signed by the "UHA Press Service" were addressed to some Soviet editorial boards and organizations, including PRAVDA UKRAINY. It was precisely familiarization with the content of the "leaflets," of broadcasts based on these by Radio "Liberty," and of items published in the weekly UKRAINSKE SLOVO in Paris and in other nationalist periodicals abroad that aroused our desire to ask the authors of this "information from the Ukraine" about their activities.

Questions and Answers

"Radio Liberty and some other 'voices' occasionally call you, Vyacheslav Chornovil, a 'champion of restructuring and glasnost.' We have read a carbon-copied UHA program called 'Declaration of Principles.' Is it true that the declaration expresses your attitude to glasnost and restructuring? Are all these 'principles' yours?"

"I am one of the authors of the declaration and fully identify with everything it says. These are my principles." M. Goryn added that he too was one of the authors of the 'declaration' and fully accepted the 'principles' set forth in it.

Western voices also call the authors of the "declaration" the "defenders of rights." In their extensive paper, these "champions of restructuring" and "defenders of rights" voice in particular the intention to divide the population

of the Ukrainian SSR into citizens and non citizens, and propose to deprive the latter of the right to work in state institutions, of the right to elect and to be elected.

Our attention was particularly attracted by the following passage: "There is a need not for some changes, but for a radical breaking [lomka] of the state structure." The "declaration" continues by setting forth the objective of abolishing the USSR and Ukrainian SSR Constitutions and severing links among union republics. Our question was:

"Do you not see that 'restructuring' of this kind is anything but a restructuring on the basis of socialism? Do you not see that this is already an encroachment upon the very foundations of the socialist system?"

"It is not our goal to eliminate socialism. But if this is precisely the way someone in the UHA poses the issue, that is his right: we cannot shut his mouth...."

While trying to turn the aforesaid "breaking" into "restructuring," Chornovil assured us that he did not encroach upon the foundations of the system, that he advocated an "evolutionary development of society without any violence," that "no one intended to cut the living links that had been formed throughout history with other peoples," and that he was "against a federation, but in favor of a confederation." Then immediately added:

"For some reason, in our country people reduce the nationality problem to one of language alone, to bilingualism. But the language problem will be settled as soon as the problem of state system is solved... The point is to change the political structure, and not the system," he explained in an obscure way.

When the interviewee "jumps" from one subject to another, there is no possibility whatsoever of expounding his ideas in some logical sequence.

"Well, it has been written that we defended and justified the Bandera-ites," [Bandera, Ukrainian national leader] he argued excitedly. "But we have never said that we justified and defended the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists [OUN]. If someone tells me that, I will challenge him!..."

M. Goryn was more restrained, but also more categorical; he alleged that the USSR was "hostile to all peoples." He obviously disliked the existence of a center in the Soviet Union, and he declined the word "Moscow" in all grammatical cases, actually repeating the trite nationalist stereotypes.

We had the impression that, while answering any crucial question concerning the programmatic goals set forth by the UHA in its "declaration," our partners in the conversation tried by all means to evade a straight and clear answer, and to drown it in verbiage. But, as the saying goes, what has been written down with a pen cannot be hewn out with an ax....

We proposed switching over to exclusively journalistic subjects.

"You call your 'VESTNIK' an 'independent' publication. How is this 'independence' to be interpreted? As independence only from the Soviet state, or also from other states, from certain political forces abroad?"

"What we have in mind in calling our journal independent is that it is an organ of independent thought, and not what you seem to have alluded to in your question. We do not depend on any state. And it is useless to count how many suitcases my wife brought back from Sweden, or how many times I have been married...."

"At Present we release so much information," Goryn said, "that consultations on it would take too long. We need time to gather and edit our information. We do not have any espionage center where we are able to consult on anything."

"Or perhaps you simply know your social order well?"

"You see, you see, this is the way you pose the question!" M. Goryn cried.

"We know, we know... Well, we have a social order. Its name is The Declaration of the UHA Principles," Chornovil added.

"And we will discharge this order, whether the Soviet state likes it or dislikes it, whether the U.S. Congress likes it or not...."

"Recently, I received a letter from some fellow-countrymen. It said that those attending a village meeting asked: 'Vyacheslav, how deep you have sunk.' But I know that I have supporters in that village."

"Where is that village?"

"In Zvenigorodskiy Rayon, Cherkassy Oblast."

"If I am not mistaken, you graduated from a department of journalism?"

"Indeed, I graduated with honors."

"Do not boast, Vyacheslav, please do not boast," Goryn implored.

But Chornovil disregarded his friend's warning.

"In expounding our policy, now and again we go even against U.S. policy. Thus, we were against Washington's consent to holding a conference on human rights in Moscow...

"You even censured Reagan for having given up his thesis about the evil empire!"

"Yes, we sent a letter to Reagan saying: 'Do not hurry, Mr. President, do not draw hasty conclusions from the chance of having taken a stroll along Arbat Street and having shaken hands with people....'"

"In systematically broadcasting your material, Radio Liberty constantly emphasizes that it is an 'independent radio station financed by the U.S. Congress.' Do not you notice a lack of logic in this definition? On the one hand, 'independent,' but on the other, financed by a definite state. And he who pays the piper, calls orders the tune, is not that so?"

"You know," Chornovil proposed, "let us leave 'Liberty' alone. From your point of view, this is an odious radio station...."

"And what about your point of view?"

"From our point of view, it is not. Let us take, for example, the BBC. It is an independent radio station. But it has to live on something, does it not? So the parliament allocates money to enable the radio station to criticize it. This is how it is."

"But let us go back to radio 'Liberty.' Do you know about the the sensational disclosure made by the American Senator Case that radio 'Liberty' was financed by the CIA, and that precisely after that scandal a more decent form, 'financed by the U.S. Congress,' had been found?

"And it was very good that a more decent form had been found!" Chornovil cried. "But what do you have to say about the fact that Soviet journalists treat our private lives in every way possible? The journalists' shamefull practice of collaborating with special services has to be condemned... Now, about the radio station 'Liberty.' It does indeed use our material. But we do not send this material specially to 'Liberty,' but only through press agencies: They call us up, and we send it."

"In your materials, you say that a certain Anna-Galya Gorbach, who lives in the FRG, is a representative of the 'UHA Press Service.' Is it true that she is a functionary of a nationalist center abroad?"

"No, it is not true, and we have already expressed a denial on this subject."

"Is it true that her husband, Aleksey Gorbach, served the Hitlerites in the 'Galichina' SS division?"

"No, he was never in the 'Galichina' SS Division" Chornovil asserted. "He was only an interpreter in a German POW camp for a short time. We know Gorbach as a prominent translator.... Besides, he has nothing to do with us. We deal with Anna-Galya Gorbach."

"Is it true that her son, Mark Gorbach, visited the Soviet Union a few years ago as an OUN emissary?"

In response, our partners in the conversation hurriedly accused us of using "KGB data," although the aforesaid information about the Gorbach family was drawn from the republic's press.

"We send information to press agencies abroad, but, before establishing contacts with any Western bodies, we carefully examine who they are. We do not have contacts with nationalist centers. We have links only with the UHA mission abroad, that is with Nadezhda Svetlichnaya and some other people, as well as with an American human rights organization which we have carefully checked.

"You have just mentioned Nadezhda Svetlichnaya. We have noticed that precisely she is the one who frequently broadcasts your material on Radio 'Liberty.' Judging from her frequent casts, is she on that radio station's staff?"

"Yes, she is a staff member of 'Liberty's' New York bureau," Chornovil informed. "She works there as a rank and file announcer. She is a rank and file journalist living on her salary like yourselves."

"Both you and we have already stated that your material is being systematically broadcast by Radio 'Liberty.' The idea that arises unintentionally is that you, Vyacheslav, are actually that station's own correspondent in this land. And what is your opinion about that?"

"Well, make me your own correspondent and we will not send information anywhere. But, no. We will still send material intended for the world. And you can call me an OUN-ite, Bandera-ite, or whatever you like!"

"You dissociate yourself from the OUN, yet in your milieu there are people who call for the erection of monuments to Bandera-ites..."

"Have you heard this call from us?"

"We heard it at a meeting here, in Lvov."

"From whom?"

"From Ivan Makar, who adheres to your ideas."

"We have not elected Makar to any post in the UHA because he is uncontrollable," Chornovil said. "Makar has been carried away, and you are familiar with our platform."

Chornovil and Goryn continued by expounding the well-know "platform" that comes to stereotypes alleging that the OUN and the UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army] "fought on the two fronts" and that Abwehr-fostered Bandera-ism was a "mass movement."

"Now let me ask you a few questions concerning some of your specific materials. Last December, Radio 'Liberty' informed that Soviet customs officers 'confiscated' from Atena Pashko, the 'wife of Vyacheslav Chornovil, one of

the founders of the UHA', on her way home from Sweden, 'a computer and an electric synthesizer [elektrosintezator]' which had been given to her. We have not heard anything more about what happened with these things. Have they been returned to you?"

"Yes, they have, and in such a polite way that I was surprised.... But let me tell you about that trip from the very beginning. The invitation was sent by my old friends in the organization 'Amnesty International.' My wife went. For this purpose, she borrowed R1,000. True, she returned the money promptly, having sold a tape recorder in a commissary.... So that she was not financed the by the CIA. And customs officers at the border pestered her: 'What do you have here—a computer?' After all, it is not forbidden to bring in computers. This is a wonderful thing, very useful for a journalist. Do you have any?"

"No, I do not. How much does it cost?"

"It is not expensive. Its price runs between $1,000 and $1,200. An electric synthesizer is even cheaper, it costs about R80 in our money. My wife bought it at a sale out, too. This is a kind of personal tape recorder with a keyboard.... Well then, the wife arrived from her trip in tears and with a little certificate in her hands saying: 'Confiscated as being an expensive present.' She asked: 'Perhaps customs duty has to be paid?' But customs officers answered: 'We will see.' Of course, we immediately sent a cable to the USSR Procurator's Office, and kicked up a racket. A protest campaign was launched in Sweden, too.... Some time after, I phoned the customs office. I was told politely: 'Come and collect your computer.'"

"You informed Radio 'Liberty' that your things had been returned, did you not?"

"Information concerning that was published in a leaflet by our press service."

"Did Radio 'Liberty' mention that?"

"I do not know, I have not heard. In any case, we did."

We reminded those taking part in our conversation that on 18 December 1988 Radio 'Liberty' broadcast a report saying: "At long last, Saturday, 10 December was declared a working day. Despite this, nearly 10,000 people gathered at the meeting in Lvov."

"Having heard what you said, one could think that that particular Saturday was declared a working day to prevent you from holding the meeting. However, on that Saturday, people—not only in Lvov, but also in other cities—worked to transfer their earnings to the fund for the assistance to the victims of the earthquake in Armenia. Was such a treatment of facts in accordance with the precepts of journalistic ethics which you refer to so frequently?"

"You interpret the quoted passage incorrectly."

"No, my interpretation is correct. Let us read the passage again...."

"What we wanted to say was that if it were not for the Subbotnik, people who gathered at the meeting would number not 10,000, but 100,000. We merely made a hint: what would have been if.... We simply had suspicions regarding that working Saturday."

This is the kind of journalistic ethics they follow: "had suspicions" and "made a hint"....

"But how many people really attended the meeting? Should not at least a zero be deleted from the quoted figure?"

"The estimated size of the audience was approximate. To figure out the number of people at a meeting, we usually proceed from the quadrature of the crowded area. After all, the information which we gave was very conservative. Moreover, at the meeting itself we abstained from a confrontation with the authorities. It was a day of mourning...."

"However, in other cases do you seek to confront authorities?"

"No, not always," Chornovil replied. "We are not for mere meetings, but for serious actions."

"By the way, concerning meetings, Radio 'Liberty' and 'UHA Press Service leaflets' reported on the terrible things that allegedly occurred in Lvov during the meetings which were held from July to September, about 'bloodshed,' 'bloody pogroms,' and 'harsh reprisals.' And 'leaflet' No 27, dated 8 September, even reported on the use of an 'asphyxiating gas.' This PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent, present here, attended most of the meetings personally and witnessed nothing of this sort. How is such information to be qualified?"

"As far as the gas is concerned, you know, I had some doubts, too," Chornovil remarked confidentially. "At that time we were not present, but we were told that at the monument to Ivan Franko there was a certain suspicious smell.... This was the only event that aroused my suspicions."

Goryn told how, after the meeting on 4 August, he met in the park an elderly woman with scratches on the palms of her hands and knees.

"I told her: 'Madame, follow me immediately! Let me note your family name!' But she said: "Wait a minute, first let me go home, let me receive an injection and advise my son.' But I still noted her family name. We have prepared a note of evidence, but have found no time to publish it."

"While listening to Radio 'Liberty,' one has the impression that people over there would very much like bloodshed in our land..."

"Let them!" Goryn brushed the remark away. "What has been applied against us here were only bans and physical force."

" 'Leaflet' No 16 of 3 September refers to a militia senior lieutenant (his first and second names were not given) who allegedly beat up two teenagers participating in the meeting. The procurator's office has verified the case. The allegation has not been confirmed..."

"But how does one prove it?" Chornovil marvelled. "We happen to know both the mother and the son very well."

"Thus you do not have any evidence. But what you have written about the senior lieutenant may be used as proof of your journalist unscrupulousness."

A "leaflet" signed by the "UHA Press Service" disdainfully refers to this man as a "rather poor athlete and skier," a fellow whose "intellectual level" is allegedly so low that "he had to rewrite his application for a job in a Lvov enterprise five times, and in a six-letter word made three mistakes," and who "was fired from a job for laziness."

Shortly before we met this officer and saw by ourselves that he was an educated and intelligent man speaking both Ukrainian and Russian, that he was a father who loved his children, an inspector who liked his job preventing offenses among teenagers. He has never been "dismissed for laziness." In a word, everything what has been said about him in the "leaflet" was untrue and libelous.

"Is it permissible to insult anybody in such a way?" we asked the samizdat editor.

"When your editorial board receives a letter, does it verify every fact quoted therein before publishing it?" he answered the question with another question.

"Every mass media organ has the duty to do that."

"But look how many articles there have been written about us in recent years!" Goryn exclaimed. "And nobody bothered to consult us before publication. So the boomerang hits back."

"Each one of our materials has an author," Chornovil explained. "The information about that senior lieutenant was written by a person who knows the officer well. You can see the author and ask him about the source of his information."

"Does this mean that the author of the item alone is guilty of the libel?"

"There is no libel," Chornovil denied the evident fact. "I know the author very well and I trust him. He is Yaroslav Kendzyor. Let the aforesaid officer sue him!" Consequently, the responsibility rests with the originator. The "chief editor" apparently had nothing to do with the case....

Since we have broached important issues concerning journalism, we called the attention of our partners in the conversation to the fact that at present our people not only highly valued the role of the mass media in restructuring, but were also passionately discussing the issue of the responsibility of journalists for the expounded facts: that in some cases readers had already sued editorial boards for insulting their honor and dignity, or for distorting the essence of the events as a result of professional incompetence.

"Do you feel responsible for your publications, are you concerned about such problems at all?"

"Yes, I am concerned," Chornovil said. "At home I have quite a few thick folders with complaints. But we are in no hurry to publish this material. After all, among those who contact us there are lunatics and people with persecution mania ."

"Your publishing activity obviously requires sizable funds. Where do you obtain them—from domestic or from foreign sources?"

"There have been many insinuations in this regard," Chornovil said. "But the essence of this is as follows. We receive material support from abroad as well, but not from the CIA nor from the OUN. Our receipts come mainly from our compatriots. And our expenses are big. For example, the costs of 20 copies of UKRAINSKYY VISNYK run into some R600 for xerographic reproduction alone. Typing, photography, and business trips have to be paid for, too. Yesterday, for example, I did the accounting on my business trip to Kiev. It costed R650. Out of this sum I paid per-diem allowances to all those who accompanied me on the trip. By the way: I have noticed that donations increase whenever the official press begins to criticize us."

"And what we have noticed is the following: reports on the meetings held in Lvov last year brought an influx of letters to PRAVDA UKRAINY. The readers condemned extremism, the organizers of these actions along with their uncivil behavior, and the disorder that resulted. You do not take take this into account, do you?"

"Well, you have specific readers! You are a Russian newspaper in the Ukraine. Our attitude to such papers is unequivocal.We are against bilingualism altogether. Tell me, what does Lvov need two obkom newspapers for, one in Russian and the other in Ukrainian? Both of them are dull and write all sorts of scandalous things about us."

"You know, last year we even wanted to declare a boycott on the subscription to both oblast papers," Goryn remarked.

"Do you think you would have succeeded in that?"

"Of course, we do not count on victory, but we are able to deliver a blow."

"And you still insist that you are not waging a 'cold war'!"

"But after all we did not declare the boycott...."

V. Chornovil went back to the disorders at the meetings.

"As far as reaction to the speeches is concerned, it was, I beg your pardon, spontaneous! But we have been vigilant watching it. After all, we have our service of sec..."

At this point he stopped short, having apparently recalled the notorious OUN-ite "Security Service." So he corrected himself:

"A service to maintain order."

At the end the samizdat editor added:

"We have been accused of using Radio 'Liberty.' Some time ago I even joked on this occasion: I do not know who makes use of whom—is it the CIA that makes use of me, or do I make use of the CIA. The bourgeois mass media do not make use of us; on the contrary, we make use of them."
Are Any Comments Necessary?

Indeed, does the conversation related above need any further explanation?

Does the reader need to be told what the real attitude assumed by the UHA "publishers" to restructuring is? Does he need to be told how "independent" they are from Radio "Liberty," which in its turn depends on U.S. special services? Is it necessary to add that the purpose of Atena Pashko's trip to Sweden was by no means to collect presents, but to convert the royalties earned by the editor of the samizdat "Vestnik" from western "voices" and nationalist publications into a computer, a synthesizer, and other articles that are in short supply in this country? Is it necessary to quote more examples of misinformation and malicious abuse eagerly supplied to their employers by adherents of journalist ethics as zealous as Chornovil's and Goryn's? Is it necessary to remind ourselves that at the aforesaid meetings they did not "maintain order," but on the contrary, provoked some credulous people misled by them to violate law and order?

"We are not extremists!" Chornovil and Goryn assured us, and immediately abused all who disagreed with them, and threatened Soviet newspapers with a boycott.

"Demonstrate, prove to us that we kindle interethnic hostility!" they argued excitedly, immediately assailing bilingualism, pinning on esteemed PRAVDA UKRAINY readers the insulting label "specific," and on our many other fellow citizens the even more insulting label, "chamelions" [perakati-polye] .

As this item was being prepared for print, Radio "Liberty" broadcast "UHA Press Service leaflet" No.57. In this leaflet, our partners in the conversation try to incite among Lvov Oblast believers hatred for the clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church, and call the attention of the Christians to the fact that in the office of the Lvov Oblast commissioner for religious affairs there is a staff member who belongs to an "unseemly nationality"....

On the same days Radio "Liberty" reported on a "conference" held in Vilnius late in January by representatives of extremist nationalist groups in the Baltic Region and the Transcaucasus, and also attended by a UHA "delegation." This gathering adopted an "appeal" and a "charter," which were simply oversaturated with libel and hostility to the USSR. The "appeal" and "charter," in particular, spread the lie that "there is a state decision to maintain in the capitals of Soviet republics the number of inhabitants belonging to the indiginous population at a level not exceeding 40 percent," and without a moment's hesitation they also turn down any "federative or confederative organization" for the peoples of the country.

The very same "Liberty" reported that these scandalous items had also been signed by "UHA representative" Ivan Makar, an "uncontrollable" man, who, according to Chornovil, has "not been elected to any post" in his group.

As the ancient Romans used to say, "sapienti sat"—for a wise man it is enough.

Schoolbus Hijackers Put on Trial in Moscow

LD2802171789 Moscow TASS in English 1649 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 28 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov:

Four hijackers who took a busful of children hostage in southern Russia last December and demanded a plane to fly to Israel but were extradited to Soviet authorities after landing at Tel Aviv went on trial here on Tuesday, accused of banditry.

Another man, who also was in the conspiracy until backing out at the last moment, is in dock together with them on the same charges.

The five defendants, all residents of the city of Ordzhonikidze, are Pavel Yakshiyants (born in 1950), Vladimir Muravlev (1962), Hermann Vishnyakov (1966), Vladimir Anastasov (1963) and Tofy Dzhafarov (1960).

They were formally charged with banding together to form an armed gang, taking a class of Ordzhonikidze fourth-grade students hostage to demand a plane to fly to Israel, and seizing a Soviet airliner.

The five are being tried in open court by the panel for criminal cases of the Russian Federation's Supreme Court, led by Justice Valeriy Mukhin.

The public prosecutor is Anatoliy Vrublevskiy, an aide to the Soviet procurator-general. Defense is conducted by lawyers from the Moscow City bar.

The dock, which doesn't show anyone to a great advantage, made Vishnyakov, Anastasov and Dzhafarov look downright wretched, while Yakshiyants and Muravlev, one tried for the fourth and the other for the third time, took pains to appear at home there.

But even they could not look anybody in the courtroom in the face and sat with downcast eyes: They had taken hostage 10-year-olds and the audience was anything but sympathetic.

Yakshiyants had organized and led the gang. But the hijack he masterminded was not motivated politically. It was nothing more than a greedy crime. The plan, he admitted after arrest, was prompted by a Western thriller.

Yakshiyants described his accomplices as "down-and-outs and drug users who can, however, keep their tongues in their heads".

By general agreement, anybody quitting the gang was to be punished by death. So Dzhafarov, who refused to go along with the plan at the last minute, has only luck to thank for remaining alive.

All the defendants admitted greed as their motive. Their plan was to force authorities into giving them a large sum in hard currency and gold in return for the lives of hostages as well as a possibility to fly to Pakistan, South Africa or Israel. They finally decided to go to Israel.

State security and militia officers, responding to the challenge by quickly mounting a counter-operation code-named "Thunderstorm", decided to fulfil the criminals' demands in order not to risk the children's lives.

So the gang was offered an Ilyushin-76-T plane at the airport of the city of Mineralnye Vody. And they were even supplied with arms and drugs in return for the release of a large group of children.

The last ten and their teacher, a young woman, were let go from the airliner after Yakshiyants' former wife Tamara Fotaki, eager to save the children, agreed to fly to Tel Aviv together with the bandits.

The other eight voluntary hostages were the plane crew. The airliner landed at Tel Aviv with the permission of Israeli authorities of December 2. The criminals and Fotaki were separated and sent to prison right away.

"I was treated very well," she told TASS. "I was provided with everything I needed, our unwilling hosts were polite and considerate."

The opening day of the trial was wholly devoted to reading the 90-page indictment. The defendants will begin to be interrogated on Wednesday.

MVD Sets Up Press Relations Bodies

PM2402142589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[V. Korneyev report: "What the Militia Is To Be Like"]

[Text] On the instructions of the USSR minister of internal affairs, nonstaff press groups have been set up in all the ministry's services to improve cooperation with the press, radio, and television.

The first such group has begun working at the USSR MVD Educational Institutions and Scientific Research Establishments Administration.

"The information which we are giving the press today is about a conference of leading staff of the ministry's educational institutions which has just been held," O. Galustyan, leader of the group and chief of the Administration's Teaching Methods Department, said.

The question of training a new type of militia officer is now being raised in a particularly acute way. As Prof T. Radko, the administration's chief, reported, 14,000 diploma'd specialists graduate from militia schools every year. The figures appear impressive, but bulk indicators are no longer sufficient today. What is needed is a grounding in the legal sciences and knowledge of effective forms and methods of preventive work, particularly among minors, and of the struggle against organized crime, racketeering, and drug addiction.

The humanization of social relations also requires high standards of militia officers: They must be able to deal with different categories of the population.

The conference also discussed measures to improve the selection of young people for training in MVD schools. It is no secret that unworthy people sometimes enter them.

V. Bakatin, USSR minister of internal affairs, devoted special attention to the molding of firm ideological and moral qualities in young officers: The militia must serve the people while protecting restructuring. The need to strengthen the militia's cooperation with the mass media was also noted. "We must hide nothing from the people," the minister said.

*MVD Releases 1987-88 Crime Rate Statistics

WA18000542 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by A. Illesh: "These Statistics Are Published for the First Time"]

[Text] On 14 February of this year there was a briefing in the USSR MVD at which the chief of the ministry's Main Information Center, Major General of the Domestic Service A. Smirnov disclosed data concerning the condition of crime in the USSR during the past year. IZVESTIYA (No 40) in an article entitled "Openly About Crime" discussed this area of our life which was

previously practically off limits to the press. Our correspondent, with the help of the Main Information Center of the USSR MVD has prepared a number of absolute figures which show the struggle of the police against crime. Data of this kind are being published for the first time in many decades.

Table of Growth of Crime Rates

Kinds of Crimes	Number of Crimes 1987	1988	Growth Rates
Premeditated murder (including attempts)	14,651	16,710	+14.1
Premeditated serious bodily injury	28,250	37,191	+31.6
Rape (including attempts)	16,765	17,658	+5.3
Banditry (of state, public or private property)	9,047	12,916	+42.8
Robbery (of state, public or private property)	46,485	67,114	+44.4
Theft of state or public property	132,377	165,283	+24.9
Theft of private property	401,599	548,524	+36.6
Swindling (of state, public or private property)	23,897	21,543	-9.8
Pilferage of state or public property through appropriation, embezzlement, or abuse of official position	96,986	87,450	-9.8
Speculation	43,372	45,235	+4.3
Violation of traffic rules and fatal accidents	18,469	22,492	+21.8
Violation of traffic rules and nonfatal accidents	97,947	106,531	+8.8

Now a brief commentary on these statistics.

Last year a total of 1,867,223 crimes were reported, which is 68,700 or 3.8 percent more than in 1987. There was an increase in the number of reported crimes in 59 union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts (in 1987—in three). The rate was especially high in the Moldavian SSR (56.2 percent), the Kirghiz SSR (32.2 percent), the Tuva ASSR (23.7 percent), Kurgan Oblast (19 percent), Northern Osetia ASSR (18.3 percent), Irkustsk Oblast (17.8 percent), Rostov Oblast (17 percent), Gorkiy Oblast (14.9 percent) and Altay Kray (13.2 percent).

The level of crime (per 100,000 residents) was 657.1 crimes. The increase was 17.8 percent. This indicator was higher than the average for the union in the Latvian SSR—864.9, the RSFSR—833.8, the Estonian SSR—775.3, and the Moldavian SSR—767.8. In the Russian Federation the crime level increased in 30 republics, krays, and oblasts.

Cities and villages of an urban type: Here there was a 9.5 percent increase in the number of reported crimes. It increased in 70 regions, including in the Moldavian and Kirghiz SSR's, the Tuva and Northern Osetia ASSR's, Maritime Kray, and Rostov, Irkutsk, and Kurgan oblasts.

Street crime: It increased in all union republics (except for Georgia) and in 67 regions of the Russian Federation. It increased significantly in the Moldavian and Kirghiz SSR's, the Northern Osetia ASSR, and Sverdlovsk and Magadan oblasts. Last year 35.6 percent more murders were committed on the streets, 67.0 percent more cases of serious bodily harm, 17.3 percent more rapes, 48.5 percent more muggings, 61.2 percent more thefts, and 4.4 percent more cases of hooliganism.

Minors: They committed 183,953 crimes.

Public intoxication: 362,096 cases. Previous convictions: 302,802. The number of cases of speculation increased by 1,863.

Last year 87,252 people were reported missing, and 69,835 of these cases were established as a result of investigation....

The data published in the newspaper might shock many people. But it is better to know the true state of affairs, for then our security and our concerns and problems of police protection will be clearer. In the final result only the entire society can oppose crime, whose essence is the reflection of many of our crucial problems.

*Jewish Cultural Society Head Interviewed

WA180005 18 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 8 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Lithuanian writer Grigoriy Kanovich by SOVETSKAYA LITVA correspondent Ya. Radis; date and place not specified: "For the Common Good"]

[Text] **The Jewish Cultural Society, affiliated with the Lithuanian SSR Cultural Foundation, stands at the threshold of a major event—its initial constituent assembly or congress. An organizing committee has been established, headed by the well-known writer Grigoriy Kanovich, honored cultural worker and State Prize laureate. The following interview with him was conducted by SOVETSKAYA LITVA correspondent Ya. Radis.**

[Correspondent] The Jewish Cultural Society has been in existence for about a year. What has been accomplished?

[G. Kanovich] A year is not a long time, but in my view a good deal has been accomplished. An exhibition of Jewish painting and sculpture was displayed in Kaunas and Vilnius, which enjoyed popularity among the people there. I think it should be seen by the residents of other

cities. At the initiative of the society for national renewal Tkuma, courses were offered for the study of modern Hebrew [Ivrit]. The society itself organized a mass action, the march of life in Paneryay to the site of the mass execution of the Jews by shooting during the war years. This was a stirring experience in which not only Jews took part but Lithuanians, Russians, and visitors from Moscow, Riga, and other cities.

[Correspondent] Where is Jewish Cultural Society based?

[G. Kanovich] Recently, the motion picture theater Pionerius was given to it. We plan to establish a museum there.

[Correspondent] To create it, exhibits are needed. Are any available?

[G. Kanovich] Yes, some have been found. The Book Chamber has in its stocks rare editions of Hebrew books and newspapers. It also has some paintings, utensils, crockery, and cultural artifacts. It seems to us that the museum should be an independent institution and not just "ballast," attached to the Lithuanian SSR Museum of History and Ethnography, as they are trying to make it. Only then will it become a center of Hebrew culture in Lithuania. Here will take place concerts, discussions, meetings of interesting people. It is intended to unite under its roof all persons who are familiar with and value our culture. Let me stress the fact that this means not only Jews.

The Jewish Cultural Society, as I said earlier, includes representatives of Tkuma; together with the sporting society now being organized, Makkaba; the charity group Caritas; and associations of journalists, teachers, and building engineers. A basic collective of the society has been set up in the Scientific Research Institute of Electrography, and similar ones are being organized at the radiometry plant and the radio components plant. The society already has branches in Kaunas and Klaypeda. In addition, it is actively cooperating with Jewish independence groups affiliated with the republic palace of culture for trade unions, the national theater (M. Khersonskiy, manager), the variety dance group (G. Kravets, manager), as well as the recently organized ethnographic ensemble Vilna (A. Traub, manager).

[Correspondent] Will not the presence of the numerous groups coming into it that are diverse in character prove to be an obstacle to the goal-directed activity of the society?

he groups that have been formed are many. That is why the need has arisen to hold the first founding assembly or congress of Lithuanian Jews, in the interest of consolidating forces. The task of the organizing committee is to carry out this vital undertaking as smoothly as possible on the broadest democratic basis. But we have no intention of imposing on anyone a single organizational format. Let each group work for the common good.

[Correspondent] What sort of activities does the Jewish Cultural Society have in prospect for Lithuania?

[G. Kanovich] After the structure of the society has been worked out, leadership bodies will be chosen at a forum, and the general work will begin. I think we should begin by placing memorials in the ghettos: in Vilnius, in the old city; and in Kaunas, in Viliampole. There is need for a new memorial to the victims of fascism in Paneriai. The existing obelisk is not expressive enough in my opinion, and does not do honor to our city. We have excellent traditions of perpetuating the memory of those who perished at the sites of mass murders—Pirchupiai and Ablinga. A similar memorial should be raised in Paneryay as well. The sculptors V. Zundelevich and Y. Posade are at work on one now. Our countryman N. Arbitblat, a well-known sculptor from the USA, has donated a work of his to the Jewish Cultural Society, which, we hope, will find its place in the architectural ambience of Vilnius. As a matter of fact, we are proposing to announce jointly with party and Soviet organs an international competition for the creation of a memorial to those Jews who perished at the hands of the Hitlerites. One of the priority tasks of the society should be to put the cemeteries back in proper order, regardless of their geographical position. It is no secret that many of these locations of mass burial are in an unsightly state.

Included in our plans is the establishment of close contacts with related societies in Latvia and Estonia. I believe it is necessary to build bridges between us and those of our countrymen who for one reason or another left Lithuania. I think the Tevishke Society may be able to assist us in this respect as well as the association of journalists set up in affiliation with the Jewish Cultural Society in Lithuania. The more they write about our problems, the more friends will appear among us, especially in countries where there are a substantial number of Jews who have emigrated from Lithuania. It is time for us now to think about publishing our own newspaper; for we have an example of this in Estonia, where the information bulletin RASSVET has begun to come out. There is a powerful corps of journalists available in Lithuania, and we can count on its assistance. We have the idea of preparing brochures and booklets for publication—anything that can help our people to be better understood and imbued with more respect, sympathy, and trust. This, too, is perhaps one of the urgent, priority tasks.

It is now time to take action—a time for serious, systematic effort. I hope that Lithuanian Television will assist us in publicizing our plans. I want to take this opportunity to report that Lithuanian Radio is now retransmitting broadcasts in Yiddish. They are on the air, as a repeat program, at 11:30 hours on the first Saturday of each month at a frequency of 271 meters. Through the mass media we will continue to keep the public informed of our activities. At the same time, we request everyone wishing to render assistance to write to us at this address: Pionerius Motion Picture Theater, Partizan Ulitsa 10/2, Vilnius 232024.

[Correspondent] May people of other nationalities take part in the work of the society?

[G. Kanovich] Of course. Here, there must not be and there cannot be any discrimination.

[Correspondent] A final question. When does the founding forum take place?

[G. Kanovich] At the end of January or the beginning of February. There is no need to hurry. It is better to do things well than fast.

Jewish Information Supplement Published
LD2802101589 Moscow TASS in English 0939 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Birobijan February 28 TASS—The first issue of the special information supplement to the newspaper BIROBIDJANER STERN is off the press in Birobijan, the administrative centre of the Jewish autonomous region (the far eastern part of the USSR). It is devoted to Jewish cultural news in different countries of the world.

The monthly supplement is intended for subscribers in the USSR and abroad.

Religious Seminar Examines Interethnic Ties
NC2302084589 Baku Domestic Service in Russian 0705 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] A republican seminar of atheists has been held in the republican "Znanye" society. The theme of the lectures was "The Place and Role of the Religious Factor and Atheistic Upbringing in Interethnic Relations." Reports were delivered on the influence of religious beliefs and atheistic convictions on national conscience, on concessions to the national and universal aspects of the ideology of modern Islam, and on [words indistinct] contemplation and the atheistic education of the Soviet people. Scientists from the Academy of Sciences, VUZ's, and contributors of the society spoke at the seminar.

Kalmyk Language Children's Magazine Published
LD2302111489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 Gmt 23 Feb 89

[Text] The first issue of the (Bair) children's magazine has been published in Elista. Its appearance is yet another step toward implementing a program for improving the study of the Kalmyk language. It envisages the setting up of national primary schools in villages where predominantly Kalmyk populations live, lessons in kindergartens and first forms, and expansion of the publication of children's literature.

Economic

***AUCCTU Explains Collective Agreements Role**
WA18280057 Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by V. Galkin, consultant in the Mass-Production Work and Wages Department of AUCCTU, under the rubric "The AUCCTU Explains": "The Collective Agreement"]

[Text] The conclusion of collective agreements for the year 1989 is under way at the enterprises and organizations of the country.

One can judge the scale of the campaign by these figures: Over 195,000 collective agreements are signed in the country each year incorporating about 18 million obligations and measures. Some 3 million suggestions were received from workers in the course of developing the collective agreements.

The decree of the AUCCTU and USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Issues] that was adopted in November of 1987, in accordance with which the labor collectives have been granted broad authority and complete independence in determining the structure and content of collective agreements, is aimed at raising the effectiveness of all of this enormous work and accelerating the solution of acute social problems.

Many labor collectives, trade-union committees, and business managers made use of these opportunities as early as in the course of the last campaign, markedly reduced the amount of collective agreements, and emphasized concrete tasks, strengthening the monitoring of their fulfillment. Normative provisions with long-term deadlines were relegated to individual supplements and were accepted with terms of 2 or 3 years.

The collective agreement of the Moscow Frezer Plant, for instance, contains the sections "Raising Production Efficiency and the Cost-Accounting Income of the Enterprise" and "Social and Domestic Development of the Collective." They reflect topical issues in the socioeconomic activity of the collective under the new conditions of economic operation: improving the pay system, the transition to multishift operating conditions, improving working and safety conditions and the environment, reducing sickness rates, and universal economic education. The collective of the Vladimir Tochmash Production Association has accepted all normative provisions for 1988-90 that were formulated in a separate supplement to the collective agreement.

Radical changes in collective-agreement work have not yet occurred, however. The labor collectives, trade-union committees, and business managers of many enterprises and organizations have not been able to move away from extant stereotypes. Some are still waiting for instructions "from above" instead of displaying initiative themselves.

Questions are still coming to AUCCTU on the procedure for concluding collective agreements and on their substance along with reports of a multitude of violations in the preparation of drafts. There are instances where they are not discussed in the shops, departments, or teams and are immediately submitted for the consideration of the whole meeting (conference) of the collective.

This is why it is essential in concluding collective agreements for 1989 to strive for the further democratization of this work. A climate of widespread glasnost and vested interest should be created in the labor collectives. The council of the labor collective, which participates in considering the proposals of the workers and making

decisions on their inclusion in the collective agreement, is called upon to play an active role at the stage of developing a draft of the collective agreement.

The task of the trade-union committees consists first and foremost of protecting their own interests through the collective agreement and striving for a deepening of its social thrust.

The collective agreements, aside from obligations for the resolution of production tasks, can and should also include measures aimed at growth in income (profits); obligations for its distribution and utilization, including for the construction of housing, cultural, consumer, and children's preschool institutions and other facilities of social development; and the expansion of medical, vacation-resort, and other aid to veterans of war and labor.

The collective agreements can also contain obligations defining the specific features of the work of the labor collectives under the conditions of full cost accounting and self-financing, for the lease and team contract, and the procedure for the issue of securities—shares of stock.

Questions of wages and improving the bonus system that touch on the interests of every worker occupy an important place in the collective agreements.

Special attention should be devoted in the development of the collective agreements to local norms that are being developed right at the enterprises themselves by the administration and the trade-union committee that make concrete and supplement existing legislation and relate to various issues of the life and activity of the labor collectives.

The councils and committees of the trade unions, in conjunction with management organs, must render effective aid to the labor collectives in the development and adoption of the collective agreements for 1989 and organize consulting for the trade-union committees and business managers.

In accordance with the General Provisions on the Procedure for Concluding Collective Agreements, this work should be completed by no later than February. There is a possibility of concluding it earlier, however, because under conditions where the labor collectives themselves are developing the plans, there is no reason to delay the deadline for concluding collective agreements to the end of February.

The 1-KD unified state form for annual statistical reporting has been approved by decree No 47 of the USSR Goskomstat of 1 July 1988 at the suggestion of the AUCCTU and the USSR Goskomtrud for the purpose of simplifying statistical reporting on collective agreements. The new form is being incorporated for 1988 reporting. Associations, enterprises, and organizations receive blank 1-KD forms from their superior management organs, while trade union councils and committees get them from the AUCCTU.

*RSFSR Consumer Groups Criticized at Congress

WA18240060 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 21 Feb 89 p 2

[TASS report: "Congress of the Cooperative Members of Russia"]

[Text] A thorough analysis of the work of the consumer societies and of their contribution in resolving the food problem and the socioeconomic development of the countryside is taking place at the Ninth Congress of the RSFSR Consumer Cooperatives. It opened on 20 February in Moscow.

The congress presidium includes Comrades V.P. Nikonov and A.V. Vlasov.

Chairman of the board, V.F. Yermakov, presented the accountability report "On the Work of the Board of the RSFSR Potrebsoyuz and Tasks for the Further Development of the RSFSR Potrebsoyuz in Light of the Decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and Subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the 19th All-Union Party Conference."

In the report and the delegate speeches it was noted that under the influence of the ideas and affairs of restructuring and the USSR law "On the Cooperative Movement in the USSR," a democratization has started in the Potrebsoyuz, along with the rebirth of self-management and the transfer of enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing. However, no radical shift has yet occurred in the work of the cooperatives in the republic. Their contribution in solving socioeconomic tasks in the countryside and in the food problem is not in line with their opportunities. Deviations can still be felt from Leninist teaching on the cooperative system, and these have led to a divorce of the shareholders from active involvement in the affairs of the consumer societies and loss of interest in final results. In all elements of the management apparatus in the consumer cooperative system there are still many workers who have not abandoned administrative-command methods and who continue to ignore the opinion of shareholders and fail to show proper concern for them.

Improvements in the organizational structure of the management of the cooperative economy and in the style and methods of work in the boards and among managers and specialists in the cooperative organizations and enterprises are taking place only slowly. All this has had to have its effect on work results. Planned targets have not been reached on a number of positions. During the accountability period and in 1988 the retail trade plan was not fulfilled. The Krasnodar, Rostov, Stavropol, Chelyabinsk, Altay, Voronezh, and Kursk Potrebsoyuz's have permitted significant lagging.

Consumer demand for many consumer goods is not being fully satisfied and there are serious shortcomings in the organization of trade and public catering. Interruptions are being permitted in the sale of goods available and there are omissions in the study and prediction of consumer demand and the management of commodity resources.

Delegates spoke with concern about the fact that the serious shortcomings have still not been eliminated in the organization of trade services for the inhabitants of small and remote populated points and for livestock farmers, and for the disabled and aged. No noticeable improvement has yet been achieved in the operation of the markets.

Delegates were unanimous: The contribution from cooperative workers in increasing food resources is inadequate. They revealed many reasons for this position. The development of food and confectionery and semiprepared goods is taking place only slowly, and the choice of vegetables and fish dishes is limited. This is the result of lack of initiative and parasitical attitudes.

At many enterprises in trade and public catering the standard of service remains low, and instances of laying aside goods and other violations of the rules of trade have not been eradicated, and shareholders and the commissions of the cooperative control organs are poorly involved in eliminating them.

Serious shortcomings also exist in procurement activity. Plans for the first 3 years of the 5-year plan for state procurements and deliveries for the all-union stocks of potatoes and melon crops were not fulfilled. The Smolensk, Gorkiy, Udmurt, Kalinin, Bryansk, and Astrakhan Potrebsoyuz's worked especially poorly in this regard.

There are many critical speeches at the congress. And this is not some concession to fashion but a desire to reveal the root causes of shortcomings and outline measures to eliminate them. In fact, much could be written in the newspapers about how the cooperatives are purchasing little excess agricultural produce from the public. This means that it is essential to move more rapidly to set up reception and procurement facilities and abattoir facilities at populated points, along with storage facilities for potatoes and fruit and vegetables. It is high time to move on from talk to specific action. Delegates demanded that the organization of agricultural cooperative procurement facilities be accelerated; they must make a specific contribution to self-sufficiency in foodstuffs in each rayon and each populated point. The Dagestan, Bashkir, Yaroslavl, Tula, Irkutsk, and Checheno-Ingush Potrebsoyuz's were sharply criticized for shortcomings in the organization of this work.

Delegates proposed that the boards of the RSFSR Potrebsoyuz and the boards of the republic (ASSR), kray, and oblast Potrebsoyuz's concern themselves constantly with strengthening the material base of the consumer cooperative system in the countryside. It is impossible to be reconciled to the fact that in more than 9,000 populated points, each inhabited by more than 20 people, there are still no stores. In many oblasts targets have not been met for the commissioning of public catering enterprises and storage facilities. The creation of food and confectionery shops and areas for trade in construction materials at central farmsteads is proceeding poorly.

Supplies of foodstuffs for the population would be much better if the Potrebsoyuz's completed more quickly the program to set up in each rayon shops to produce sausage and confectioner's items, canned goods, nonalcoholic beverages, smoked items and other food products. Delegates proposed that installation of these projects should be closely monitored by shareholders.

Giving due consideration to the opinion of shareholders it is essential to draw up plans for further construction of production facilities. This is because quite often funds are now being allocated for the construction of projects in rayon centers and for expensive interior finishings of stores for urban cooperative trade to the detriment of construction of enterprises really needed in the countryside.

Delegates drew attention to the need for in-depth mastery of the new economic mechanism and economic methods in management, and introduction of a variety of contract and leasing forms. This will all promote elimination of mismanagement and the enormous losses about which shareholders are often unaware.

Those speaking emphasized that in the consumer cooperative system it is essential to introduce the achievements of science and technology more rapidly, reduce the use of manual labor and solve the most painful of the social questions.

V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, and officials of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR and RSFSR Councils of Ministers and central ministries and departments are taking part in the work of the congress.

The congress continues its work.

*Council of Ministers Official on Cooperatives

WA18280071 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with V.P. Lakhtin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau on Social Development, by PRAVDA correspondent A. Golovenko: "The Cooperatives: Surf and Foam"]

[Text] [Golovenko] Vladimir Petrovich, exactly 2 years ago the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree on development of the cooperatives in the sphere of commodity production and services. People's attitudes toward this form of socialist ownership have been

extremely contradictory, and sometimes negative. But each person still has a clear-cut idea of what caused the emergence of the "new" cooperative movement.

[Lakhtin] Let me say immediately that the cooperative movement was brought to life by restructuring. It is an effective means in the democratization of public life. According to Lenin this form makes it possible to build socialism in such a way that anyone "can participate in this building."

Cooperatives are flexible structures and can be easily oriented to the buyer. They can successfully fill—if we may use expression—the "pores" of a large economy and are therefore capable of saturating the market very quickly with essential goods and services.

[Golovenko] Can you tell us about the potential to be found in the "new" cooperative system?

[Lakhtin] This question cannot be answered unambiguously. The cooperatives started out by processing secondary resources, producing consumer goods, and providing public catering. But now they are operating offering introduction, medical, trade-and-purchasing, and scientific and technical services....

The Law "On the Cooperatives in the USSR" adopted last summer has sharply increased their growth. As of 1 January 1989 more than 77,000 cooperatives were operating, and the number of people working in them was almost 1.5 million—10 times more than at the beginning of last year.

The leader in development rates is the Baltic area. In Latvia last year the cooperatives produced R71 of goods and services per capita; in Estonia the figure was R64. The republics in the south are still lagging. In Kirghizia this indicator is R15, while in Turkmenia it is only R6. The average for the country is R21. You can see that development is proceeding unevenly. In some areas the cooperatives are scarcely known and it is still too early to talk about what opportunities they may open up.

[Golovenko] What specifically are the new traders selling to the public?

[Lakhtin] Again we cannot avoid the numbers. In 1988 some 17 times more goods and services were provided than in 1987. However, for the country as a whole the share of the cooperatives in the production of goods and services although growing still makes up only 1 percent of the total. Little enough, you say? Agreed, but the main thing is that a good trend has started.

Well, what specifically has been pleasing? The cooperative workers are not only enterprising people but also jealous people. If you single out one you offend another. Nevertheless I shall note those who are engaged in the production and processing of agricultural products, manufacturing consumer goods, providing house-repair services and repairs for domestic appliances, and helping in getting people to live a healthy life.

[Golovenko] Many kinds of "new" cooperatives are irritating the public. "There is less interest in work," writes I. Pivchenko from the "Krylovskiy" fattening sovkhoz in Krasnodar Kray, "when you knock yourself out for R200 a month while someone else stands at a busy place and sells hot pita bread at 70 kopecks for 300 grams and pirozhkiy for 40 kopeks...."

[Lakhtin] The decisions adopted were aimed at making the cooperatives focus their activity primarily on the production of consumer goods and provision of services, for which demand is particularly great. And by making use mainly of local and secondary resources and being concerned not only with their own profit.

Unfortunately, at many cooperatives it is precisely this motivation—profit—that prevails. For example, they buy up sewn and knitted articles in the trade and after only insignificant processing (for example, adding a design, altering the accessories and so forth) they sell them at prices several times above state prices. Behind this kind of "activity," which is essentially speculation, lies nothing more than a desire to make profit, because if you look around, there are no more goods on the market.

[Golovenko] When comfortable new family pastry stores and pancake houses and cafes appear this is pleasing. But now I am running across cooperative cafes that used to be dining halls. "The shame of the capital"; this is what the Rychivy couple from the Yakutsk city of Neryunga called the cooperative rest rooms at the Moscow stations....

[Lakhtin] Let me remind you again that the cooperative sector of the economy is designed to augment the state sector, not replace it. But more than two-thirds of the cooperatives providing public catering in Moldavia, about 80 percent in Leningrad, and 60 percent in Moscow have been formed as replacements for existing state cafes and dining halls. Have things gotten better for the public through these "substitutions"? By no means. There are not more dining halls and the prices have risen sharply. This is evoking legitimate dissatisfaction among the public.

The local soviets often transfer existing public catering enterprises to the cooperatives, motivated by their unprofitableness. But now new forms of management have appeared—leasing, family contracts. Why not use them and try to get rid of the troublesome public catering?

So, the policy with regard to the cooperative movement should be aimed, on the one hand, at supporting it in every possible way, but at the same time should not permit distortions in this important matter. And it is important not to accept the foam as the essence of the cooperative system.

[Golovenko] In conversations with representatives of the cooperatives one often hears complaints that the ispolkoms are reluctant to allocate premises and that they procrastinate in resolving other questions.

[Lakhtin] There are instances of this. But it is also essential to understand the ispolkoms. No one sees better than they do the need for cooperatives in their region. Of course, under the law the ispolkom is obliged to register any cooperative. But what if many are claiming premises and only one is available? Obviously preference must be given to what a rayon or city needs today, while there must be competition among similar kinds of cooperatives. For example, we have a great shortage of cooperatives providing care for sick people, the aged, and the disabled. There are shortages of cooperatives providing personal services and cultural and health facilities.

[Golovenko] But all this kind of work requires raw materials, materials, and spare parts. I was alarmed by the following figure: Of 136,000 registered cooperatives about half cannot operate. Is this not because of the lack of steady supplies?

[Lakhtin] You have touched on a far from simple issue. I would say this: The fate of the cooperative movement will depend largely on how well-organized and efficiently supplies are set up.

The Law on the Cooperatives in the USSR and government decrees provide that cooperatives may acquire the equipment, materials, and raw materials that they need from supply and other state and cooperative organizations and from retail trade. But given the present shortages of of raw materials and materials—which, moreover, are distributed centrally—little is left for the cooperatives.

As a result, as a consumer, the cooperative worker, who often has a great potential of energy and opportunity, travels about the country in search of resources. If he cannot get them legally he often gets them "on the side." Thus, in return for a certain gift the "Iskra" cooperative in Chita "intercepted" building structures earmarked for the construction of a biological factory there. The "Luch" cooperative in Ulyanovsk tried to offer a bribe to obtain scarce linen at the Novokuybyshev knitted wear factory.

[Golovenko] What do you see as the solution?

[Lakhtin] Increasing sales of raw materials, materials and equipment to the cooperatives. The USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Measures To Eliminate Shortcomings in the Existing Pricing System," published on 4 February, determined that in supply priority should be given to those cooperatives that are fulfilling state orders, that is, are making primarily products needed by the country. And those that will sell their own goods at state prices. This is particularly important for the public.

[Golovenko] Will this not undermine commerce? For the essence of commerce is to sell a product at a profit.

[Lakhtin] At a profit does not mean always at a high, monopoly price. Products can be marketed more cheaply if only not to freeze assets. We have examples of cooperatives selling their own products at state retail prices and they do not complain about poor profits. For example, the "Inter" and "Sputnik" cooperatives from Temirtau city in the Kazakh SSR wrote into their bylaws directly that the cost of their products should not exceed state retail prices.

But one often sees a desire to grab large sums. This is a 1989 calendar. Prime cost is 30 kopeks, retail price 90 kopeks. But the cooperatives, obviously taking advantage of the great demand for "the female form" are charging buyers R8 to R10. They made R600,000. And they used state equipment and paper. The cooperative is a socialist enterprise and the level of its income should depend on the size of the labor input.

[Golovenko] Many of our readers do not understand why the word "cooperative" has become synonymous with "expensive." Why should meals in cooperatives be more expensive than meals in restaurants?

[Lakhtin] There are reasons. Meals made by the public catering cooperatives cost more since they acquire their raw materials mainly in the kolkhoz markets. And if they acquire them from the trade bases and stores then they pay full retail prices while the state enterprises obtain them more cheaply because of the trade discounts. The USSR Council of Ministers decree to which I have referred gives the ispolkoms of the local soviets the right, depending on the level of consumer services, to establish maximum price increases in public catering cooperatives as applied to those increases that operate in state enterprises in the corresponding category.

[Golovenko] The high incomes of the cooperatives have today become a sore point. Are they in fact operating so well or is this the effect of an imperfect tax system?

[Lakhtin] Many people in the cooperatives do in fact operate better, have fewer "managers" and are improving labor productivity while reducing costs. And because of this they obtain higher incomes.

Remember that the cooperatives have been granted a number of privileges that should facilitate their establishment and rapid development. Whereas the state enterprises pay an average of more than 40 percent of their incomes to the budget, while the figure for light industry is 70 percent, for the cooperatives the figure is 2 percent to 5 percent. So there you have the opportunity to pay higher wages.

The average monthly wage of cooperative people in Moscow last year rose to R700. This is two or three times higher than for workers employed in intensive and harmful labor at state enterprises. At the same time, in

terms of the production of consumer goods the cooperatives produce seven times less per ruble of wages than similar light industry enterprises.

In 1988 the amount of credit made available to the cooperatives rose by a factor of 12. But the interest rate rose two to six times less than payments to repay loans to state organs and enterprises. The high incomes of the cooperatives are linked more broadly to the defects in the existing tax system.

Accordingly, whereas in terms of material-technical supply the cooperatives may still complain, in matters of credit, tax, and participation in the forming of the state budget and personal incomes they are placed in incomparably better conditions.

[Golovenko] Probably any plant director will say that this is not very fair.

[Lakhtin] In my opinion, during the period of establishment it is fair. However, obviously in the long-term enterprises, both state and cooperative, should be placed on an equal footing. This also applies to taxes. Higher wages in the cooperatives are leading to a drain of skilled workers from statement enterprises into the cooperatives. These processes give grounds for concern. To the point, in most socialist countries, as, for example, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, and Bulgaria, the cooperatives are on an approximately equal footing with state enterprises from the standpoint of pricing, taxes and other aspects of their activities.

[Golovenko] Many complaints are being heard against cooperative products. Often they bear no relationship to price.

[Lakhtin] You are right. The quality of cooperative goods and services is by no means always up to standard and public needs. The reason for this is inadequate training for cooperative workers and the low level of technical equipment at their production facilities. For example, in public catering cooperatives one worker in three lacks essential professional training and therefore sanitation standards and food preparation rules are being grossly violated.

The draft USSR law "On Product Quality and Protection of Consumer Rights" has now been submitted for national debate. Article 26 states that enterprises and citizens marketing substandard products shall be legally liable. This all applies equally to the cooperatives. It is essential to cut short more decisively the sale by cooperatives of substandard unlabeled goods without proper documents and the address of the manufacturer; this kind of "secrecy" and irresponsibility deprives the purchaser of any opportunity to make a claim against substandard articles.

[Golovenko] Vladimir Petrovich, a report recently appeared in the press about the upcoming All-Union Congress of Cooperatives. What, briefly, will its tasks be?

[Lakhtin] Yes, in the republics and oblasts an active process is under way to set up cooperative societies and associations. In mid-January an initiative group was set up in Moscow to handle the congress of the country's cooperatives and draw up a charter for the USSR Union of Cooperatives in the sphere of goods and services. The plan is that the society shall be a particularly public organization. It will protect the interests of cooperative workers, engage in propaganda, train personnel, and of course, purge itself of everything that compromises this necessary and useful movement.

[Golovenko] However, one congress of the cooperatives has already taken place....

[Lakhtin] As I have already said, the cooperative people are competitive and enterprising people. In fact, a large group of them who gathered in the capital called themselves a congress. But there were no representatives of sector and republic societies. I think that the new formation will not interfere with the organizational committee in its work to hold a congress of cooperative people in the USSR.

[Golovenko] Readers have noted a contradiction: on the one hand there is growth in the cooperative societies while on the other the USSR Council of Ministers decree of 29 December last year regulates some of their activities.

[Lakhtin] In my opinion there is no contradiction here. The possibility of regulations was envisaged by the law on the cooperative movement. That law establishes that features in its application in particular sectors of the national economy and in particular kinds of cooperatives shall be determined by the USSR Council of Ministers. I would like to note that the question of confirming the list of forms of activity in which cooperatives may not engage was examined when the draft law was being prepared. But since adequate experience had been gained, it was deemed expedient to draw up the list in the document itself.

More than 6 months have elapsed since the law went into force and the positive and the undesirable aspects of the work of the cooperatives have become clearer. Take, for example, medicines. Their safety can be guaranteed only through full compliance with the requirements of the USSR Ministry of Health. This kind of control cannot be organized at cooperative enterprises. And how can we remain indifferent to the fact that the cooperatives may independently sell to the public medicines, extracts, and vitamin supplements of doubtful quality that are sometimes produced by people who are not specialists?

There is another nuance here. People are not stingy with their money in order to maintain their health. Many cooperatives are taking advantage of this by making

excessive charges for diagnosis and consultation. Incidentally, PRAVDA recently wrote about this, rightly emphasizing that medicine presents to the cooperative movement the kind of concept that cannot be put on a price list and falls under the same heading as charity, generosity and compassion.

In short, it was necessary to adopt the decree. It has limited the kinds of activity that as a rule are the monopoly of the state, and also those activities associated with ideological and moral indoctrination.

Of course, this has not pleased everyone, and those who have already started such work and incurred expenses are particularly dissatisfied. There are therefore people who are questioning not only the correctness of the restrictions but even the legality of the adoption of this kind of decision by the USSR Council of Ministers. I shall not dwell on this in detail because all the necessary explanations were given by the USSR Minister of Justice B.V. Kravtsov in the newspaper IZVESTIYA on 11 February and in PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK No 3.

False rumors have recently been appearing in some organs of the mass media. There is talk about "curtailing the movement," "an attack against the cooperatives" and so forth. This interpretation is to be regretted; it is calculated for the ignorant individual. Barely ten kinds of activity of the multitude of cooperative activities have been affected.

Incidentally, very many people have correctly perceived the steps that have been taken. This can be seen from the mail being sent to the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau on Social Development. This, for example, is what veteran of labor F. Sirotin writes from Voronezh: "Surely government decrees are binding on everyone, including the mass media? What will happen if we discuss and dispute forever without coming to one decision that is binding on everyone...?"

D. Klinovskiy from Kursk, Muscovite V. Palishin, V. Kolesnikov from Sumy and others share that opinion.

To conclude I would like to share this thought: We favor the cooperatives and want the cooperative movement to serve everyone and develop in a direction that is favorable for the whole of society.

Scientific

'Phobos' Scan Obtains Image of Martian Surface

PM2702144189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Doctor of Technical Sciences A. Selivanov, head of department in the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology, and Candidate of Technical Sciences M. Narayeva, senior expert in the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology: "The Surface of Mars: Important Experiment"]

[Text] The implementation of the "Phobos" project is nearing an extremely important stage: The landing of automatic space vehicles on the natural satellite of Mars. This operation was preceded by the process of gradually moving the interplanetary station into orbit; the station recently became an artificial satellite of the red planet and is to converge with "Phobos."

Not only "Phobos" but Mars itself remains a highly interesting subject of scientific research and great possibilities for this have now opened up.

However unique the research conducted during the study of any planet, as a rule this research seems incomplete if we cannot actually see a picture of the planet in question.

The surface of our neighbor, Mars, has been repeatedly photographed by television cameras from the Soviet and American interplanetary stations "Mars" and "Mariner." Good quality color images have been obtained, charts plotted, and the landing locations of the "Viking" space vehicles studied in detail.

This time a totally new experiment is being carried out: to obtain a highly detailed thermal chart of Mars which will make it possible to distinguish the temperature of individual formations on its surface—craters, valleys, crevices, and so forth. This job is being done by an instrument known as a thermoscan. Its closest (but less sophisticated) analogue on earth is an infrared imager sensitive to thermal, infrared rays.

In the original plan, the work of the thermoscan was to begin in April in circular orbit, at an altitude of 6,000 km. This would allow details of approximately 2 km in size to be distinguished on the surface and give a field of vision of 600-700 km. But before moving into this orbit the "Phobos" station made several revolutions around Mars in an interim elliptical orbit with a minimum altitude of approximately 800 km. The natural desire of the people involved in the project was to take photographs at a distance considerably less than the nominal distance, which would proportionally increase the distinctness of small details on the surface—up to several hundred meters. This unique photograph was taken successfully on 11 February.

The course of the photograph ran a length of 8,000 km through the desert region of the Amazonka plain, in ill-defined relief. However, at the end of the sequence several large craters came within the field of vision of the thermoscan. One of them, with a diameter of approximately 30 km but no name at present, is printed on the photograph. The photograph itself is the result of preliminary processing of the heat photograph carried out by the Scientific Research Institute of Space Instrument-Making of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology and the USSR Academy of Sciences Information Transmission Problems Institute. It should be pointed out, in particular, that the data relating to surface temperature cited at various points on the photograph is strictly preliminary data and has yet to be clarified during further processing. An important supplement to the heat photographs based

on infrared rays invisible to the eye are the photographs taken in the visible spectrum. They are taken by the thermoscan simultaneously with the heat photographs and are used for comparative analysis.

On the whole, this 30-minute sequence has yielded a great deal of new and interesting information. The processing of this information will take some time.

This piece of Soviet equipment—the thermoscan—and the data it has produced effectively supplement the results of other equipment in the scientific complex of the "Phobos" station implemented with the participation of broad international cooperation.

'Tsiklon' Launches 'Meteor-2' Satellite

LD2802133789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1255 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (TASS)—The "Tsiklon" rocket launcher today launched the latest meteorological earth satellite in the Soviet Union, "Meteor-2". The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution—104.1 minutes; apogee—974 kilometres; perigee—951 kilometers; orbital inclination—82.5 degrees.

Sets of apparatus have been installed onboard the satellite to obtain global images of cloud layers and the underlying surface in the visible and infrared ranges of the spectrum for storage and for direct transmission, as well as sets of radiometric apparatus for constant observation of the streams of penetrating radiation in circumterrestrial space. The equipment on board the satellite is working normally.

Military

Gromov Denies Sakharov Claim About Afghanistan

PM2802105589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General B. Gromov by Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin: "Lt Gen B. Gromov: 'I Am Utterly Bewildered'"]

[Text] The other day Canadian radio broadcast a pronouncement by Academician Sakharov to the effect that during the war in Afghanistan there were cases in which groups of Soviet servicemen were shot from helicopters when surrounded in order to prevent them from being taken prisoner. In connection with this a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent turned for an explanation to Lieutenant General B. Gromov, who commanded the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan until their total withdrawal from the territory of that country.

[Markushin] Boris Vsevolodovich, you certainly can be regarded as one of the most authoritative and knowledgeable people concerning what actually happened and might have happened during combat actions in Afghanistan. What would you say to our readers on the subject of Academician Sakharov's claims?

[Gromov] In the first place I am utterly bewildered by fabrications of this kind. I cannot understand how one can talk so casually about serious matters, on the basis of rumors. Particularly where the war in Afghanistan is concerned. I can categorically state that such monstrous events did not occur and could not have occurred.

[Markushin] How effective was our command's supervision of the actions of Soviet units and subunits? Could things have occurred which you simply did not know about?

[Gromov] The command knew of all cases of Soviet servicemen being surrounded and took most urgent and effective steps to assist them. It is a sacred law not to leave a single person on the battlefield. Whether alive or dead. During the war in Afghanistan, and I was there 5 and ½ years, on no occasion was a Soviet subunit left to fend for itself. Assistance was always given. I want to say a special word about our airmen, who helped those fighting on the ground without a thought for themselves. They would often risk their own lives in daring efforts to rescue people and evacuate them from danger areas.

[Markushin] Could there not have been cases where they hit their own people while firing at the enemy?

[Gromov] Unforeseen situations occur in war. No combat action will be like a typical exercise. I would like to make the following point. As used to happen in the Great Patriotic War, the situation occasionally was such that one had to request that fire be directed at oneself. I was in that situation myself. In 1981 my command post near Herat was surrounded. We did not have the forces to repel the attacks. Through communications channels I ordered that the area of the command post position should be fired on. Fortunately, it was the dushmans storming us who were hit.

I want to stress once again that mutual assistance and mutual aid, loyalty to the laws of friendship and military comradeship, and mutual understanding between command and personnel were typical features of the troops of the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan. I am talking of things that I witnessed many times, of things I know for sure, as one who was directly involved in the events. What happened in reality totally refutes the fabrications of ignorant people and renders futile the efforts of those who disseminate them.

Attempt To Discredit General Yevsyukov Exposed

Part One

PM2202124189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[First part of Yu. Feofanov article: "The Honor of the Uniform. A Criminal Drama in Two Parts"]

[Text] **The words used in this headline do not contain even a hint of paraphrase or metaphor: They are used in their direct and primordial sense—the honor of the military uniform.**

Part I. Juridical

The charge had the effect of a public slap in the face. General Yevsyukov, chief of staff of the Odessa Military District (and Army commander before that), was charged with embezzling state funds. "Driven by career considerations, he spent state funds on lavish entertainment for high-ranking officials and commission members, involving his subordinates in criminal activity...." He was not even averse, the charge claimed, to dipping into funds which were meant to be used for the benefit of ordinary soldiers. Unscrupulous even down to trivial details: He took a bedside boot stand, property of the state, from his previous station to Odessa.

In times past, this would have meant either a bullet through the temple (if guilty) or a trip straight to the quarry. But you cannot fight a duel with the state, nor can you challenge the Military Prosecutor's Office or even the prosecutor himself—he is only doing his job. The only thing left was a trial. But strange as it might seem, military justice was reluctant to send Yevsyukov to trial. This is strange, because trial is the ultimate goal of instituting a criminal case. And there you have a general shouting for more than 3 years now: "Let me stand trial." The answer was: "Go in peace, take your retirement at the age of 47, receive your pension of R150 from which you can repay the debt you owe to the state, and don't bother us with your complaints." The quotes do not indicate that these were the precise words used, but the meaning is there.

Yevsyukov wrote 253 complaints and, as you might have guessed, they were certainly not addressed to any housing administration office. All of them produced standard answers from the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office: "The facts are confirmed...." "There are no grounds...."

A criminal case was instituted 5 April 1985. The general was summoned to his first interrogation 29 April. No charges had been filed as yet, but the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office had already sent a report to Staraya Ploshchad [the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat building]: Lieutenant General Yevsyukov, chief of staff of the Odessa Military District, had stolen R10,000 and, as a result of mercenary abuse, inflicted a loss of R300,000 on the state. A report along similar lines was also received by Defense Minister Marshal Sokolov. True enough, by September of that same year 1985, when an order was issued to dismiss Yevsyukov from duty and retire him on pension and when he was also expelled from the party, the amount of damage with which he was charged was reduced: R5,000 embezzled and over R100,000 loss to the state. Still a sizable amount, but the case—instead of being sent to trial—was closed under Article 6 of the RSFSR Criminal Procedure Code since "the individual has ceased being socially dangerous."

It would all appear correct on the surface. Yevsyukov, dismissed from duty, could no longer dip into either state funds or funds meant to be used for soldiers' benefit. There is just one hitch in all this. Article 160 of the USSR Constitution says: "No one may be adjudged guilty of crime...except by the sentence of a court and in conformity with the law." This formulation is repeated in Article 13 of the Criminal Procedure Code. The retired general demanded a trial in order to either uphold the honor of his military uniform in court or to be forced to send it to storage. This request was stubbornly denied for a long time. At the same time, while under suspicion of having committed a crime, he was interrogated as a witness for 2 years: In other words, he was forced to testify against himself under fear of punishment!

As a matter of fact, this is not Yevsyukov's personal problem. There is a fairly widespread practice of investigators closing cases for reasons which do not provide grounds for rehabilitation. Some citizens, especially those detained under guard, are only too pleased to be set free for whatever reason might be deemed suitable; others fail to realize until the end that they remain guilty; yet others do not give their consent, but nobody listens to what they have to say. But think of the perseverance, the courage, and the sense of dignity that are needed to pursue the objective of upholding your honor in court for almost 4 years!

Gen Yevsyukov achieved it, but not immediately. The investigation was reopened in 1986. Eventually, the charge of embezzlement disappeared altogether. All that was left were abuses which resulted in a loss of R48,000 of state funds. At an executive session of the Military Collegium, the prosecutor took off a further R33,000, and the Collegium closed the case, this time by way of an amnesty. The general did not surrender: It had to be either/or.

By the way, we have not said anything about the specific charges against the Army commander. He was charged with actions as dangerous to the state as they were demeaning "in personal terms." Whenever inspectors arrived to visit his army, he apparently ordered them fed free of charge and presented them with packages containing goods in short supply on their departure. The relevant cost was written off by submitting false accounts and other shady financial dealings. Furthermore, a painted panel, Japanese spinning reels, and other gifts were charged to "political work" expenses. Furthermore, the Army commander either stole or lost: a refrigerator, 15 meters of strip carpet from the lobby, and the famous boot stand. In addition, an ensign used to pick berries for the Army commander and, on top of everything, the bath house burned down....

It has already been mentioned that the charges snowballed, but only to the detriment of the investigation: The embezzled R10,000 and the loss of one-third of a million (at the time when information was filed with the CPSU Central Committee and the report was sent to the minister) were later reduced to R5,000 and R100,000 respectively, then it was just a matter of loss amounting to R48,000, which was then reduced to R14,000, and at the trial the prosecutor filed a charge of causing the loss of R8,320.20 of state

funds. This caused Attorney N. Ilina to sensibly point out: "Had this been reported to the minister, in all probability there would have been no case."

Nonetheless, the case was instituted. Why? Who needed it? Who was behind it all? What sort of enemies? I asked Leonid Grigoryevich. His answer was: "I don't know." "But why did the Military Prosecutor's Office so stubbornly keep on accusing you?" "I don't know," the general replied. "It looks like an anonymous letter. There was no trace of it in the case files." How did they "get at" the Army commander in the first place? It all began when some sportsmen in the services were found guilty of shady dealing, and the thread led from them to three Army finance officers (now serving sentences). One of them mentioned that apparently either the Army commander knew of the dubious financial deals or they had been done on his personal instructions. But surely this is not sufficient to institute proceedings against an Army commander! Who is behind all this? I cannot answer. The only thing I could say is that, to use our favorite expression, there was something fishy going on. A "sensational case" was in the making. Rumor and gossip started accumulating, and there were even downright fabrications.

It was all reported to Moscow, to the Chief Military Prosecutor's Office, which is meant to be staffed by jurists familiar with the presumption of innocence which is currently so popular. In other words, with the idea that charges mean unproved guilt, that everything ought to be investigated before reporting further. But—they reported. Just try to get a report amended after the event: a matter of slight confusion; so far there is no proof; we are investigating and therefore, Comrade Defense Minister, hold back on any sharp measures.... Is there anyone who has ever amended a report to his superiors in this way in our fatherland? We work under a different "presumption": Since something has been reported it is necessary to substantiate the report, and as for the person who is suffering—that is the least of our concerns; we have countless multitudes of people, and nobody is irreplaceable.

Could this be a sharp and unjustified conclusion? It is a conclusion confirmed by the course of the judicial investigation. It was not I but the judicial collegium that drew the conclusion that the accused's right to defense was violated during the preliminary investigation: It was violated in a covert manner, but substantially. Which forced the court to issue an interlocutory order and send it on to the general prosecutor.

The investigation was conducted by many military justice officers, but the main part in this orchestra was played by Colonel M. Kapitanov, investigator for especially important cases under the chief military prosecutor. Here is what I heard about the preliminary investigation in the course of the trial.

Witness Lieutenant Colonel Yuzhanin, operations officer on the Army staff at the time: "I was entrusted with Army funds which I used to purchase equipment in 1982. In 1985 I was summoned to Moscow, to the Prosecutor's Office, and I was prompted to say that I had supposedly given Yevsyukov R5,000 as a bribe. This had never happened, and I categorically refused. I was threatened: There was going to be a confrontation. I went. And there was no confrontation."

Colonel Mirzoyan: "I received R130 as material assistance and spent the money on myself. I said so during the investigation. Every means was used to persuade me to say that I had passed this money to Yevsyukov. But this never happened. I was interrogated for 4 hours. I was called for further interrogation afterward. Then once more. I left for Afghanistan. They called me back from Kabul: Say that you gave R130 to the Army commander!"

The investigator's persistence is easily explained: Without this evidence, one of the charges would have collapsed. But that was a substantial charge.

It is only natural that, under such pressure, people lost their bearings, gave testimony, then changed it. Especially since money was really being written off under the heading of "Feeding the Bosses": R970 (in the heat of the moment Yevsyukov was being charged with that, but it immediately emerged that this had happened before his arrival in the Army—unshakable alibi), a sum of R2,010, and an additional sum of R400. Officers and even generals involved in this passed before the court. The investigation file also listed those who had allegedly dined for free and had received packages of delicacies, including a marshal, an Army general, and a colonel general. I listened to their testimony. I will not mention their names because, as it became apparent, they were in no way compromised. The charges claimed that the Army commander was groveling to them by presenting them with gifts. Yevsyukov demanded: Ask them. But they could not bring themselves to do it. Or maybe they were unwilling to do it because, in the event of a negative answer, everything would have collapsed. Today's investigators have not quite reached the point of demanding sham "testimony of admission" from marshals as they do from ensigns and colonels.

The Military Collegium summoned these high-ranking persons to testify. They categorically refuted the charges. True enough, they did so in different ways: "I have a firm rule: Wherever and whenever I dine, I personally settle the account with the waiter," "the aide paid, but I cannot believe...." A particularly cautious reader will probably have some doubts: That's what they say now but "he who acts through his aide...." Come on now, bear in mind that we are not talking about orgies with young girls in saunas. We are talking about meals in hotel dining rooms costing a ruble at most.

The interlocutory order on the investigation, issued by the Military Collegium, lists in detail the violations of procedural norms. They all boil down to one point: Just as in the past, the accusatory illusion dictates illegal methods and usages. Here is something curious: The prosecutor described the deeds with which Yevsyukov

was charged as typical of the stagnation times. By an amazing coincidence, the investigation began right in April 1985. It went on for all the 3 years or so of restructuring. And it went directly against the social trend: Substantiate the charge at any price.

How often is it now—in a period of political and legal reforms, exposure of the horrors of the terror in the thirties, and evaluation of the illegalities of stagnation—that we repeat the truth that unjust ways cannot lead to a just goal. As applied to jurisprudence, this means that any violation of procedural law norms will inevitably lead to distortion of material truth, in other words to a charge against the innocent. A breach of the law in the course of the investigation does not necessarily prevent the exposure of the criminal: Accurate hits may be scored even under the crudest of distortions. Different results are likely. **But one thing is absolutely certain—sooner or later an innocent will suffer harsh punishment.**

Everyone is now talking about the struggle against the mafia, especially the mafia of functionaries. We are told that, unless resolute measures are taken, this very same mafia will well and truly fleece us. This is a perfectly real threat. But if, in the course of struggle, we showed leniency toward even the slightest deviations from the legal norms of inquiry, investigation, and trial, if we turned a blind eye to all this while focusing solely on the threat of being robbed, we would all end up inside even though we might be innocent. Or it might be our children or grandchildren who will end up inside. The arbitrary use of power cannot be stopped; once applied against a guilty person, it will be applied with tenfold force against the innocent. We certainly do not have to go very far in search of examples: They appear in virtually every newspaper or journal issue. Arbitrary use of power against alien class elements was 100-percent justified in the view of the public at that time; rally resolutions to "execute" and "destroy" without trial or investigation were held out to be the voice of the people and an expression of justice. Afterward, the righteous public itself ended up facing firing squads or being sent to camps. Asking the painful question: "But why us?"

When Gen Yevsyukov's case was closed in September 1985 despite his demands, it was felt that this was an end of it all. Thus the 22 volumes comprising the case file were "undone," which was a gross violation of the law. When the investigation had to be resumed...documents from no longer existing case files, often only in copy form, made up another 38 case files. Such a gross violation of normal justice could in itself have been sufficient to close the case regardless of whether the accused had been guilty or not. Jurisprudence would have gained from such a turn of events, investigating organs would have been taught a sound lesson, but Yevsyukov would have been worse off. A verdict of not proven is enough to raise doubts among the public and especially among one's superiors, never mind the conjectures resulting from a case being closed owing to violation of "some sort of judicial chicanery rule or other." And I do think that the general himself would have felt bitter. He told me:

"My sole aim was to obtain an unbiased hearing.... Just the fact that a trial took place was a victory for me."

Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, received Lt Gen Yevsyukov on the morning of the day when he was due to have the last word. Leonid Grigoryevich told me with military precision: They spoke for 12 minutes. "What about?" "Things in general." Dmitriy Timofeyevich does lead an interesting life, I thought to myself: Receiving an "AWOL soldier" one day, a "general on trial" on another day. I assume that, in addition to concerns about the country's defense, this is also a part of his duties. Because the defense depends not only on tanks and missiles but also on the dignity and honor of those who operate them. On that day the minister did not know what the sentence would be. It was a day later, on 9 February, that the Military Collegium chaired by Major General of Justice P.M. Talanov and comprising People's Assessors Major General V.N. Loktev and Rear Admiral N.G. Orlov passed sentence.... We will talk about it in the second part of this feature, because the conflict we have described has more than just a juridical background....

Part Two

PM2302161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Second and final part of Yu. Feofanov article: "The Honor of the Uniform. A Criminal Drama in Two Parts"]

[Text] The law in its pure form is contained only in codes and monographs, but it functions and lives among and in people and comes to people's assistance in the most extreme conflict situations. So surely the poet was right to say: "Where there is no morality, what use will futile laws be?"

Part II.

One of the fundamental principles of law on which justice itself is founded is: "Let the other side be heard." The principle is as legal as it is ethical....

General Yevsyukov, under investigation, traveled to Moscow four times to be heard by Marshal Sokolov, who was then the defense minister, and he wrote him, asking to be received. In vain. Which was strange. For it was not a platoon leader who had been expelled from the Army but a district chief of staff and a recent Army commander whose formation had been held up only as an example. But there had been a report, and an opinion, let us assume, had been formed. Surely the minister needed at least to look in the eye of the general who had sullied his military uniform?

The son of a soldier who had died at the front was drafted for service at the age of 19. He entered a tank unit. And so his irreproachable 27-year military career began. Strictly in the ascendant and without any pulling of strings. Training battalion—tank commander—school—lieutenant's shoulderboards—company—Frunze Academy—battalion commander—General Staff Academy with distinction—regiment—division—army. Without a single break. Testifying to the court as a witness, an Army general declared:

"I do not wish to interfere in justice, but I cannot keep quiet about Army Commander Yevsyukov...."

His words were a testimonial.... But they did not wish to listen to Yevsyukov. One can only guess at whether this was personal indifference to the "fate of a soldier" or our common practice of investigating "personal cases," when "repentance" definitely saves, even if it is false. But I believe that the whole course of the investigation would have proceeded differently if the minister had not been in a hurry to issue the order canceling out service and life at a stroke.

This was, I believe, the distinctive command to the Military Prosecutor's Office: A retired officer, a pensioner who has gotten a job as an engineer in civil defense, can be interrogated for 13 hours in a row, be put in a mental hospital, be searched, have his diaries confiscated.... Why diaries, in which his life has been recorded? To seek traces of the missing bootstand? Of the "lost refrigerator"? If the general stayed a general until his guilt was established, they would hardly dare do all this. Not that they did dare to receive testimonies from the marshals who "dined for free"—although in this case the law prescribed that precisely this be done.

People might say: The author is so concerned about the general, but "all are equal before the law." But what if a platoon leader or private were under investigation? I think he would have a still worse time than in "the general's case." Unfortunately, a pattern is emerging from the very, very many "cases" that have recently been widely publicized: A desire to accuse either a soldier or a general at all costs. I stated in the first part that this is a gross violation of procedural law. But at the same time elementary ethical norms are also flouted. The idea is essentially suggested to the witness, not to mention the person under investigation, that what we need is not truthful but "necessary" testimonies; you have been cautioned about responsibility for telling lies, but do not be embarrassed: Lie for the good of our investigative version and nothing will happen to you, but "it will" if you start saying what we do not want to hear.

The accusatory bias in justice is dreadful because a mistake might be made—there have been and, alas, always will be judicial mistakes even given the most ideal legal structures and irreproachable jurists. The accusatory bias is dreadful because, while proclaiming the visible goal of jailing a criminal, it has the hidden, true goal of jailing anyone. Hiding behind the need to combat evil, it carries within itself the idea of corrupting society with fear, hopelessness, and a loss of faith in the law and in law and order. Witnesses are not suspects but "aides to justice," only they have essentially been pushed onto the path of perjuring themselves and, in the final analysis, into a crime against justice. It is said that God without morality is dreadful. "Legality" without ethics is awful.

Lieutenant Colonel Chumachenko, a political worker and journalist who is now training cadets at Lvov Military School, testified to the Military Collegium. He had served in Yevsyukov's army and, like many people, had written a report requesting material assistance.

"I wrote the report on the orders of General Makarov, chief of the political department. He said that money was needed to receive a commission."

"But your first testimony was different: 'Spent the money on own needs,'" the chairman read out the record of interrogation.

"The investigator doubted my first testimony, and I changed it."

"You now claim that you wrote the report on Yevsyukov's orders. Does this mean that you slandered Gen Makarov? Or are you now slandering Gen Yevsyukov? At some time you lied. When? And do you realize that you could be tried for perjuring yourself?"

"I had to make something up," the officer said, "because the investigating officer was demanding details."

Let us leave to one side the chairman's question ("How do you train cadets?") and not linger on the officer's reaction when he was told that criminal proceedings might be instituted for perjuring himself—a pitiable smile while standing at attention—let us leave this. But do the investigators and investigating officers realize what they are doing by cautioning about responsibility for lies yet demanding lies? The officers Yuzhanin and Mirzoyan, mentioned in the first part, yielded to neither persuasion nor threats. But others readily perjured themselves.

Incidentally, the prosecutor asked Chumachenko whether the investigator had used illicit methods, to which a negative answer was given. Thus slight pressure and a hint were enough to make the officer slander his chiefs and lie. Of course, it was not the investigators who fostered "high moral qualities" in Lt Col Chumachenko. But, on encountering lies, surely they thought about the honor of the same military uniform that they themselves wear? This is where "pure law" melds with morality—not in reports, not in the newspaper articles which the lieutenant colonel journalist evidently writes, but in such a combat examination in the full sense.

With Lt Col Chumachenko's testimony in mind, a purely civilian woman attorney said: "I was ashamed to listen to that officer." Alas!

"I am obliged to die for the motherland, but no one will make me lie in the motherland's name." These too are the words of an officer, although he was wearing a uniform cut differently, one of the old regime. While listening to the course of the trial and the testimonies of officers and generals, I could not help turning to models from the past, which has passed down to us its legends about officers' honor. They are too well known to be repeated. But what is to be done if the court investigation has prompted this and led us to problems of army ethics and loyalty to traditions.

Yevsyukov's deputy—Major General Tarasov, chief of the Army's rear services—went up in the world after all that happened: He became deputy chief of staff of the rear services of the country's Armed Forces. True, he was then demoted, but he is back in the saddle: He now teaches reason to students of the General Staff Academy. He claimed in his testimony that Yevsyukov's predecessor and then Yevsyukov himself had given him instructions about "organizing the feeding" of commissions and giving their members "souvenir delicacies." He was only carrying out orders.

"Let us assume," the chairman asked, "that the Army commander gave you an order to feed a commission for free. But did you know that it was an illegal order? Why did you, a general, dash off to carry it out?"

"What could I do? An Army general came to us with his wife and lapdog, as well as a physician and an aide. I was ordered to receive them, organize things, and not take money for the food or, at most, if they insisted on paying, not more than R1 each."

"Did Yevsyukov give that order?"

"No, his predecessor."

"And you ran off to carry out an illegal order?"

"Orders are orders."

"An illegal order? Just think what you were doing. You summoned your subordinates, as witness Moroz testified, and said: The bills for dinners and souvenirs must be paid at the expense of extra food for personnel. How could such an order be carried out?"

"If I had not carried it out, I would have been out of a job long ago. Orders are orders!"

"You graduated from the General Staff Academy, arrived in the Army, and began by performing unlawful actions...."

"By carrying out orders."

"But what if," Pavel Matveyevich Talanov, who was conducting the trial calmly, not to say impassively, could hold out no longer, "what if you had been ordered to blow up the Army headquarters?"

"I am a soldier," the general replied.

I felt really put out. And in the recess I asked the general: Was that conviction or confusion?

"You know what would have happened to me if I had not...."

"But what were you risking by refusing to carry out an illegal demand?" the civilian woman attorney chipped in. "Your career? Hardly...."

The end of the recess saved our interlocutor from having to answer. Not that he was obliged to answer us. But he also remained silent before the court when he was reminded that even in war people who carried out illegal and inhuman orders were put on trial. He quietly muttered: "I am a soldier."

It would probably be not quite correct to develop this episode to the level of the generalizations which are now troubling society. People in the recent past have justified and even now are trying to justify too much by citing orders: How can the person who carried them out be called to account? But, if we speak of the rules of honor, an officer who respects his uniform is incapable of descending either to flouting legality and humaneness or to encroaching upon the soldiers' fare. Whether this threatens his life or his career. Loss of honor is more terrible. At least, this used to be the case.

Although the Army is a special organism, it is not outside the ethics of society. When people began publicly discussing the problems of bullying, a thesis aimed at protecting the Army began to stand out clearly: We have whatever "human factor" we gain from the family, school, and society; civilian education has distorted morals, so what do you want of us? There seems to be some sense here: The Army is not a corrective system. But it does correct physical weaknesses—through exercises, drill, and, if you like, harsh discipline, if the latter is not an end in itself.

So are those parents wrong who, having themselves perverted their children's morality, pin hopes on the Army?—the Army will rectify and correct them. I dare to think that it did so. As long as severe yet beneficial regulation relations held undivided sway in it. But now that disgraceful things—nicknamed nonregulation relations in order to soften them—have become established in the troops, the perversions of civilian life have begun multiplying and setting like concrete.

Of course, there are many reasons. I grasped one of them at the trial in question: nonregulation relations in top Army spheres. The honor of the military uniform, understood in an old-fashioned way, is based on an old-fashioned concept which we have forgotten, namely punctiliousness. One officer was asked during the trial whether he personally had accepted gifts. "No," he replied. "But you testified at the investigation...," he was reminded. "But it was not I but my driver who brought the package

to the vehicle." The point is not even that the officer wished to extricate himself in a cowardly way before the court. The point is that he entrusted a shameful thing to his subordinate. How can regulation relations be instilled after this? I see nothing wrong in an aide settling up with a waitress for a marshal. That is all OK. Or almost all. But the fact is this: It was not just talk that arose over "free feeding" and groveling presents. An entire criminal case ensued. The prosecutor said in his speech at the trial:

"The attention of the Army public has been riveted on this case."

If this is really so, rest assured that it was riveted on precisely this: Did the marshal pay or not? There is no getting away from it. Justify three times and declare three times that there was nothing in it. All the same, you will not dislodge the thought that there was something....

It was almost half a century ago, but I remember Captain Mironov, our battalion political officer. We called him the "commissar," although there was no longer such a title. At the time we were marching through defeated rich Germany, and few of us were sinless with regard to "goods and chattels" and could say: "Let him cast a stone at me who has not...." Commissar Mironov could say that. He would walk among the "goods and chattels" in a threadbare pullover tunic and tarpaulin boots and with a tattered field bag of regulation pattern. He did not wear a single captured thread. We called him a "weirdo" behind his back. And that is how I see him now. I remembered him at the trial. He was a punctilious man, and as an officer and political leader he had the right to make the highest demands. Many of the witnesses who appeared before the court did not have such a moral right.

I personally get lofty associations on hearing the words "Army commander": the legendary civil war Army commanders, the military leaders of the Great Patriotic War, the military chiefs of the peaceful present, whom I do not know but who are nonetheless surrounded by a romantic haze. Then suddenly at this trial I saw that an Army commander is also an economic planner who signs bills and invoices, lists and estimates, and that he has within his field of view not only the combat training of troops but also the subsidiary plot where potatoes are grown and piglets raised. No, the combination of these two principles is not unnatural: The Army is a vast business which ensures the life and routine of tens of thousands of people. But these two principles—"high" and "low"—make equally tough demands on the military chief: Take not a step away from the regulations nor half a step away from military ethics or from anything that could cast aspersions on an officer's honor. A false invoice can sully the uniform as well as contribute to the nonfulfillment of a combat order. In the latter case, perhaps, it is more difficult to get it clean.

I was sincerely glad when the verdict was made public: To acquit Gen Yevsyukov on all counts. I am glad that this courageous man fought for the honor of his uniform. He fought alone, against almost hopeless odds, and won.

At the same time, I was prey to other feelings at this trial. I mean, if officers had been charged with conceited bragging or with criminal audacity or been tried for a drunken riot or because a dashing warrior had seduced the wife of a civilian, this would be bad, of course, yet in the spirit of "Hussar traditions." But here.... My God, I thought: trifling accounts with waitresses, false invoices, a lost bootstand, perjury, anonymous letters, scheming, petty squabbles.... Where does all this take place?